Daily Report

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EEC Delegation Visits 20 Sep

AU2009193890 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] A delegation of the European Community, consisting of the political directors of the foreign ministries of Italy, Ireland, and Luxembourg, arrived for a visit to our country today. Talks were conducted at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs between the European Community delegation and the Albanian delegation headed by Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs. The delegation also met Professor Sofokli Lazri, director of the Institute for the Study of International Relations, and was received by Foreign Minister Reis Malile. During the conversations and meetings, views were exchanged about relations and cooperation between Albania and the European Community in economic and trade fields, etc. Current international developments in Europe and the Mediterranean, the process of Balkan cooperation, and the steps taken by Albania to join the CSCE process were also discussed. The European Community delegation also left our country today.

Alia Speaks on Role of Country's Youth

AU2009191490 Tirana ATA in English 1701 GMT 20 Sep 90

["Time Has Called on Science and Culture To Take Over New Roles—From the Speech of Comrade Ramiz Alia at the Meeting of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the PLA"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, September 20 (ATA)—This meeting of September 20, devoted to some problems of the ideoscientific moulding of the student youth, was attended also by a group of distinguished activists of the younger generation from the university and other higher schools. Discussing animatedly on this question, it was passed into a warm social conversation characterised by the constructive spirit of debate, of an analysis from a critical point of view of the experiences and shortcomings, of the scientific examination of the tasks for the future.

Comrade Ramiz Alia and the other comrades of the Secretariat exchanged fruitful views with all those present in order to realise positive qualitative changes in the work with the student youth.

The student youth, Comrade Ramiz Alia said in this talk, is precious for the whole country. From its fold emerge the coming cadres, those who will carry forward the economy and culture, those who will contribute to the further strengthening and progress of the homeland. The people rejoice when they see the efforts full of zeal of the youth to learn, to assimilate science, to enhance their intellectual level, when they see that it strengthens the will and discipline at work, shares in the people's troubles and is concerned over their solution.

The student youth, Comrade Ramiz Alia said in continuation, merits a special concern. The cadres, specialists, scholars, the people of science and culture, have become one of the most important factors of socialist progress. Therefore their sound training is a great investment for the future.

In our country, he said, a powerful intelligentsia is created from the point of view of its number and its cultural and scientific level. It is successfully coping with the tasks set to it. Fundamental is that it is linked with the people, that its interests are linked with the development and progress of Socialist Albania. This has to do with the correct policy followed by the party, with the all-round support it has given to it and the constant confidence it has shown in it. The present time testifies as well to its wisdom in treating of the intelligentsia. Since the liberation and on the enemies' efforts to turn the youth and intelligentsia into their reserve, have been numerous, but no one succeeded and could have succeeded in this.

Further on Comrade Ramiz Alia laid the stress on some immediate tasks related to the strengthening of the ideoscientific convictions of the school younger generations. The role of science, studies, ideas and scholars, he said, should be higher in all fields of our life. We should aim at that the scientific thinking should be prevailing, and not the order by an employee, the preference of a leading cadre. Time has called on science and on the scientific studies to play new roles in elaborating the orientations of development and of their realisation. They should precede development in every field, they should indicate the most rational road to be followed to attain efficient results in economy and politics, in culture and defence.

The deepening of the process of democratisation calls for the enhancement of the role of science, he continued further on. If for the solution of economic problems we should rely on laws and economic methods, for the treatment of questions emerging in other fields we should rely on their intelligence. Logic and the operation of the objective laws should occupy the place of commanding through apparatuses and administrations. The management through administrative methods is offspring of fetishing the apparatuses, administration, which are necessary and play an important role, but only if they act scientifically, when the recommendations of science gain an applicative power through the state laws and instructions.

Our intelligentsia , the scholars and student youth, Comrade Ramiz Alia said further on, should contribute so that our work be elevated to the requirements of the time. In this process outstanding people, talents, capable activists will claim distinction.

Democratization is a major process, comprising all the working masses, but it should not be allowed that it be transformed into a means of speculation for separate people who run counter to the interests of the people. Therefore, the public opinion should be formed by progressive people, genuine combatants for the cause of

socialism and the democratization of life, the vanguard workers and communists, intelligentsia, and youth, all those men and women who love Albania like this, free and sovereign, as created by our people through blood and toil in these five decades. We should mould the opinion for progress and democracy, socialism and well-being, which can be attained through work, hard work, discipline, through rigorous discipline, through knowledge and science. Only on this basis the country will progress, democracy will be broadened, initiative will be enhanced, the standard of living will be improved. There is no and there can be no other decent and beneficial road for the people, road which guarantees the freedom and independence of the homeland.

Even in this question, regarding the question of moulding a correct opinion, our youth should take an active part and be in the van. It should be able to expose those who want to fish in troubled waters, who slander and work for the foreign enemies of Socialist Albania.

Our party has always assessed the youth and intelligentsia as co-fighters. They have been and will be such even in the future. We should work for it since now. The party's line should meet the will of the new generations. If the youth wants to get more widely acquainted with science and acquire contemporary knowledge, this is a major ideal and the society should create possibilities and conditions to it to realize it. The youngsters should have broader contacts with the world cultural values, the contemporary progressive art and literature, with film and science. Now possibilities have augmented also for direct contacts, which both the state organs and the youth organisation should think of. The youth has to learn a great deal from the progress of know-how on world scale, just like it has to affirm the values of national culture in the world. The increase of contacts of our youth with the world, be it through publications, translations, performances etc., must be viewed as a two-sided process, receiving and offering, and should be realised without complexes and prejudices.

Further on, speaking of the question of youth's entertainment, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out that its demands in this domain should be considered as fully legitimate and should be met in accordance with the economic possibilities. The youth's desires for entertainment should not be compared with those of the past years, he said. The youth's desires are numerous, but at the same time it is well aware of the country's troubles, therefore it is very reasonable in its demands. The Secretariat of the Central Committee has recommended the government to accelerate the realization of some projects forwarded to it by the youth organisations to build entertainment surroundings in Tirana and other cities. The investments that might be granted should be used with maximum effectiveness.

In conclusion, Comrade Ramiz Alia, reaffirmed the importance of the decisions of the 11th plenum of the party Central Committee on the student youth and voiced his belief in its creative and realizing force.

National Assembly Elects New Council of Ministers

AU2009225690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2119 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Announcement by unidentified member of supervising commission of results of the ballot on electing members of the Council of Ministers proposed by the Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov, made at the 35th session of the Grand National Assembly in Sofia on 20 September—live]

[Excerpts] Today, 20 September 1990, there were elections of a Council of Ministers proposed by Andrey Karlov Lukanov, prime minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. [passage omitted]

The 219 people's deputies who took part in the ballot cast their votes as follows:

First, for the posts of deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers:

Georgi Pirinski—209 votes for, 10 against;

Belcho Belchev—207 votes for, 12 against;

Nora Ananieva—206 votes for, 13 against.

Second, for ministerial posts;

Belcho Belchev, as minister of finance: 207 votes for, 12 against;

Atanas Paparizov, minister of foreign economic relations: 208 votes for, 11 against;

Valeri Tsekov, minister of trade and services: 208 votes for, 11 against;

Dimo Dimov, minister of culture: 208 votes for, 11 against;

Iliya Konev, minister of science and higher education: 208 votes for, 11 against;

Ivan Krustev, minister of construction and territorial organization: 209 votes for, 10 against;

Atanas Popov, minister of transport and communications: 209 votes for, 10 against;

Todor Pandov, minister of agriculture and food industry: 210 votes for, nine against;

Aleksandur Aleksandrov, minister of the environment: 209 votes for, 10 against;

Lyuben Gotsev, minister of foreign affairs: 204 votes for, 15 against;

Yordan Mutafchiev, minister of national defense: 209 votes for, 10 against;

Pencho Penev, minister of internal affairs: 210 votes for, nine against;

Emiliya Maslarova, minister of employment and social welfare: 207 votes for, 12 against;

Ivan Chernozemski, minister of national health: 210 votes for, nine against.

(Matey) Mateev, minister of national education: 208 votes for, 11 against. [passage omitted]

Assembly Debate Reported

AU2009182790 Sofia BTA in English 1734 GMT 20 Sep 90

["Opposition Urges Cabinet To Submit Programme and To Reorganize"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 20 Sep (BTA)—"I don't agree with the rates of the economic reform and that is why I don't want to be a cabinet member," said Mr. Veselin Pavlov, the outgoing minister of transport. His statement in parliament today met with enthusiastic approval from the opposition, which even invited him to join it, and was met with silence from his own parliamentary faction. Mr. Pavlov, who criticized the slow pace of reform, the overstaffed government apparatus and other elements of economic life, often apologized to his Bulgarian Socialist Party co-members for his frankness. "It's a pity that Bulgaria ranks last in the rate of economic reform," he said. Finally, he addressed "those who created the totalitarian system," saying that they cannot be expected to be consistent.

"The Socialists' government will actually implement the opposition programme because it is the best, but it will probably depart from its part, envisaging that those responsible for the condition of the country should be called to account," Mr. Petur Beron, the leader of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), said with a smile. His joke did not amuse all the M.P.'s.

The prime minister, Mr. Andrey Lukanov, announced that the government is prepared to accept all fine ideas, that it will rely on a parliamentary consensus and would help establish the responsibilities.

"Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov has perfectly well realized the mandate of the new cabinet: the short-term programme, a preparation for the beginning of the real reform," the opposition M.P. Mr. Ventseslav Dimitrov, SDS economic expert, told the BTA. "Many people assume that the new government will stay in office for just a couple of months. Even if this is so, this does not eliminate the need for the new cabinet to submit a long-term programme on which there should be a parliamentary consensus," Mr. Dimitrov believes.

The opposition M.P. said that the prime minister's idea about the two stages of the reform: a preparation for marketization and an actual introduction of a market economy, was borrowed from the opposition's campaign platform. Mr. Ventsislav Dimitrov finds that this is a logical outcome of the line of accepting SDS ideas, pursued by the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], its government included. "I'm afraid, however, that if the government keeps abiding strictly by the BSP platform, in just a couple of months' time it will have to carry out neither the opposition programme nor its own, but rather a platform much more harsh for the Bulgarian people: the Bulgarian economic recovery programme of the International Monetary Fund," Mr. Ventseslav Dimitrov said.

Mr. Ivan Pushkarov M.P., an SDS economic expert, moved on behalf of the opposition that parliament and the government set up a body to supervise the way foreign aid is distributed and used. The prime minister answered that, for the time being, there is little to distribute.

The opposition claimed that "what is proposed is a provisional government structure and a partial composition."

Mr. Andrey Lukanov did not reject the need for substantial changes in the structure of the executive branch, but repeated his proposal that the actual changes be carried out after the government presents its programme. The prime minister said that, answering the criticisms that he had not suggested any tangible changes in the cabinet structures.

"Give the new ministers a chance to assume their portfolios and to prepare to set forth their views in parliament," Mr. Andrey Lukanov appealed to the M.P.'s, some of whom were unhappy that the would-be ministers will not say right away how they contemplate their work.

Taking part in the parliamentary debate today, Mr. Viktor Vulkov declared the support of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) as a constructive opposition to the government.

Lukanov Addresses Assembly

AU2109130590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0725 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Address by Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov at 36th Session of the Grand National Assembly in Sofia on 21 September—live]

[Text] Esteemed Presidency, esteemed ladies and gentlemen National Assembly deputies, before dwelling on the subjects which I intend to submit to your attention, I would like to cordially congratulate Mr. Eskenazi on the happy event in his family life. It is not a son, but anyone who has a daughter knows about the happiness a daughter can give. Let us hope that both he and his little daughter may live in a civilized country, in a state where the people of her generation will live under peaceful and prosperous conditions.

Esteemed National Assembly deputies, as you know, the new government members were elected yesterday. This happened, unfortunately, under rather dramatic conditions, as I would say trying to avoid a stronger expression.

Despite all this, I would like, on behalf of my colleagues and on my own behalf, to express my gratitude to the Grand National Assembly for its vote of confidence and to assure the Assembly that we shall devote sincere and wholehearted efforts to justify your confidence and the people's trust.

Naturally, I cannot deny my disappointment over the manner in which the election proceeded, and I assume my share of responsibility for this, but I think that yesterday's procedure, or rather the complications of this procedure were not worthy of our Grand National Assembly and did not contribute to its prestige.

I think that it was particularly offensive to those ministers, or to put it better, those candidates for ministerial posts, who do not belong to the Bulgarian Socialist Party and who consented to participate in the government, prompted by their sense of responsibility toward the nation—which applies in particular to our distinguished creative artist, the musician Dimo Dimov—and who did not even have the opportunity to appear before you and submitting their views on their personal lives, careers, and future activities as ministers of the Bulgarian Government, despite the fact that they were expressly invited by the Grand National Assembly to do so.

As a matter of fact, I think that these difficulties of a procedural nature, which subsequently revealed themselves as difficulties of a political, rather than a procedural nature, and which accompanied the cabinet's election, are likely to involve unfavorable consequences for the work of the government, and I dare say, also for the work of the Grand National Assembly. We should do everything within our power to prevent this.

In this context I would like to call your attention to a very wise and emotional speech which Mr. Nikodim Popov, the oldest National Assembly deputy, who stayed until the end of yesterday's late night session, delivered on that occasion. I would advise all those who were not present yesterday to read the stenographic record of his statement and I congratulate everyone who listened to it.

Mr. Nikodim Popov called attention to the possible results of the manner in which the government's election proceeded, and I recommend that we should listen to his words and to the voice of common sense, because we are facing only two alternatives:

Either constructive cooperation, parliamentarism, democratic spirit, and concern for the people's interests, or a fatal confrontation with unpredictable, but under all circumstances, dangerous implications for our nation.

Despite the circumstances of the voting procedure, the government obtained the necessary majority of votes and today I am appearing before you as the leader of a legitimate government, which has been approved by parliament.

We are assuming our responsibilities and are resolved to implement our tasks in accordance with the Constitution and the country's laws, and in this respect, setting aside all emotions, I would like to point out again that we shall rely on the support and understanding of the Grand National Assembly, of the entire National Assembly, of all those who are now sitting in this hall.

I think that the government should immediately, as of today, engage in the implementation of these responsibilities and tasks. Many remarks were made on the waste of time and I fully agree with them, regardless of the side from which they come.

I would like to inform you that the first meeting of the newly elected Council of Ministers is scheduled to take place today, and I would like to propose a schedule, namely a joint schedule on our work, within the forthcoming weeks.

I would request that the period between 24 and 29 September be granted to the government and the ministers for internal debates on the draft program related to the government's activities for the forthcoming 100 days) and (?on the implementation of the draft program until the end of the year) and also for preparing the ministers, especially the newly appointed ministers, for their meetings with the Grand National Assembly commissions.

We propose that the meetings of ministers with the commissions should take place between 1 and 5 October, provided that the Grand National Assembly and the commissions' leaderships should agree with the proposal. On these occasions the ministers are expected to submit their views and compare them with the views of the Grand National Assembly commissions, and also to answer the National Assembly deputies' questions. This would not only be useful for the ministers, but also for the preparation of the government's draft program.

On 9 October—and I would like to firmly commit myself to this date—the government should submit the draft program to the Grand National Assembly. Provided the National Assembly agrees, the debates on the draft program should immediately follow this event and continue from 10 through 12 October. If more time should be required, the Grand National Assembly must use its sovereign right to decide on this, but I think that it would be desirable to proceed with this debate following the preliminary discussions within the commissions in an abridged (?form) so that the vote on the draft program be passed by the end of the week in question, namely by 12 October. I assure you that we shall sincerely strive for a parliamentary consensus on this program, so that the first measures included in the program come into force as of 15 October 1990.

In addition to this, the government intends to adopt certain measures aimed at establishing a constructive spirit in the National Assembly and within the government, in cooperation between the legislative and the executive power, and in connection with speeding changes in the methods and style of administrative work on a state level, in connection with adopting measures for a positive cooperation, for establishing greater confidence between parliament, as a whole, between the National Assembly deputies and the government members, and the government as a whole.

Yesterday we already discussed the appointment of parliamentary secretaries in the ministries, at least as regards the major ministries, with a view to maintaining daily contacts with the parliamentary commissions and their leaderships. I confirm my readiness to provide opportunities for the participation of the commissions' representatives, which presumably applies in particular to representatives of opposition parties and coalitions, in the work of the ministries and I would like to establish a special government information service for the National Assembly deputies—not on all questions of course, but at least on the questions which are within the government's competence and which are of interest to the individual National Assembly deputies and the parliamentary groups. We are ready to place all analyses, reports, and information which are available to the ministries and the Council of Ministers at the disposal of the National Assembly deputies, or to prepare such reports at their request, and to discuss on a priority basis all questions submitted by the National Assembly deputies, on behalf of their constituents, to the government and to its organs.

I would like to say, at the end of my address, that these were just a few ideas that I am now expressing to you and I would also like to confirm our readiness to discuss your recommendations and wishes aimed at creating a lasting and positive understanding and cooperation between the government and the National Assembly.

Considering that the subject is expected to be discussed in detail in the draft program, I would just like to mention in a few words that the government realizes the gravity of the country's situation. We fully realize the difficulties of the problems we are facing, and which we, all Bulgarian people, are expected to cope with. I will not dwell too long on the exceptionally severe shortage of material, financial, and currency resources, but I cannot help mentioning it. This shortage very seriously affects not only our economic situation, but also the overall state of our Bulgarian society. I must mention the severe imbalance in the financial-monetary sphere, which requires radical and painful measures, and I take the liberty of reiterating this statement. I should also mention the state of sociopolitical instability which, unfortunately, is far from decreasing, but has even deteriorated over the last days and weeks.

In connection with certain statements and declaration made in this hall, I would like to state categorically that there can be no magic outcome to this situation and it is a delusion to claim and try to convince people that such problems may be overcome through speeches and programs, that they can be overcome without effort, without sweat, without discipline, and self-denial.

It is impossible to rescue our country from the crisis in a hundred days. A prolonged period is required. Efforts, and I repeat joint efforts, are required. Peace and stability are required and persevering reforming activities of the Grand National Assembly and of the other state organs are required for this purpose.

I repeat that it is a delusion to believe that there is any other alternative, and it is a dangerous delusion, because the goal of these deliberately propagated illusions is to

increase social tension and to prepare the ground for new actions aimed at destabilizing the situation in our country. I say this, because I am already entitled to assert with full conviction that certain forces exist in our country, forces that have manifested themselves on more than one occasion, and which see their role and future in Bulgarian history and in Bulgarian political life not in the development and consolidation of parliamentary democracy, not in observing legal order and in consolidating the foundations of the rule-of-law state, but in actions outside parliament that are aimed at increasing confrontation in the long run. Such actions bring with them all the ensuing dangers, the danger of civil war, including bloodshed in Bulgaria.

I do not exaggerate in declaring this seriously and responsibly and everyone is entitled to believe, or not believe my words: Let us hope that we shall never experience the moment when these forecasts may be confirmed. I must tell you, esteemed National Assembly deputies, that the government has been warned about the preparation of such actions.

I will be ready to brief you on such warnings, but I would like to tell you in advance that forces exist in our country that will take advantage of every opportunity, of every social conflict, of every expression of legitimate discontent to implement a scenario of destabilizing society instead of seeking constructive solutions appropriate for the country's present circumstances and possibilities.

I think that under such circumstances, we should set aside our differences and that we should think about the nation and the state.

In connection with the forthcoming visit of the president of the Republic to the United States and France and in connection with his meetings with state leaders of other countries within the UN General Assembly session, it is in our common interest that he should go abroad as the head of state of a country capable of ruling itself, a country that is not torn by internal strife, and that presents a stable and civilized image to the world.

I think that a very severe test awaits us all, and the government in particular, within the forthcoming weeks and months, a test for which there is no repeat examination. We cannot afford to fail this test, considering that it is not only our own personal destinies that are stake, but the fate of Bulgaria.

Thank-you.

M.P.'s View Cabinet, Upcoming BSP Congress

AU2109085190 Sofia BTA in English 2141 GMT 20 Sep 90

["'Zhivkovization' Without Zhivkov?"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 20 Sep (BTA)—The Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) opposes the nomination of Mr. Lyuben Gotsev as minister of foreign affairs because he was allegedly involved with state security and with the violation of the ethnic Turks' rights by the ousted regime. The opposition is also unhappy with the motion that Mr. Matey Mateev, whom they see as a notorious witch-hunter of reform-minded Communists before November 10, 1989, joins the cabinet as minister of education, opposition sources in parliament said.

Senior members of the Socialist (formerly Communist) Party [BSP] have been named to the government and they have been involved in government so far, too, along with some less well known names "for a change," SDS M.P.'s say. The proposed new cabinet did not look much like a team capable of carrying out the reforms needed by the country.

Mr. Mikhail Nedelchev M.P., spokesman for the SDS, believes that Mr. Boyko Dimitrov, the outgoing minister of foreign affairs, and Mr. Veselin Pavlov, the outgoing minister of transport, were not accidentally dropped from the upper echelons of power as they declared their reformist intentions.

"The BSP offers us a coalition but gets rid even of its own more radically minded people," Mr. Nedelchev told the BTA. In his view there is an obvious connection between the forthcoming BSP congress and the rush to form a government, at that comprising people with "steady ideological persuasions" acceptable for the socialists. [sentence as received]

Mr. Nedelchev—and he is not the only one—sees a threat of a "Zhivkovization" of power without Zhivkov. To him the rumours, even if untrue, that the ex-president and ex-party leader Mr. Petur Mladenov would be nominated BSP leader at the congress are not accidental. Returning to power a former leader is something unique to communist practice, but recently the BSP has been making unique steps, the Radical Democrat M.P. went on to say. The BSP is trying to escape the fate of the communist parties in the former socialist countries: It seeks to avoid disintegration, Mr. Mikhail Nedelchev believes.

Mr. Dragomir Draganov M.P. of the BSP, who belongs to the radical wing of the Socialist Party, also sees a danger of "Zhivkovization" and of marginalizing the reformist forces in the ruling party. He believes that this process started gaining momentum about a month after the parliamentary elections and especially after the BSP Supreme Council headquarters was set on fire, which triggered off the self-preservation instinct of the hard-liners and prompted them to start closing the ranks.

Mr. Dragomir Draganov, however, finds that it is wrong to think that the processes unfolding in the Socialist Party influence the formation of the government. "Different theories may be advanced and all sorts of comments may be made, but they are largely sophisms

because there are no clearcut tendencies in the selection of the members of the new cabinet," the BSP M.P. said.

Socialist Rally in Sofia Supports New Government

AU2009183290 Sofia BTA in English 1756 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, 20 Sep (BTA)—Socialists and their supporters flocked to a large rally here this evening to back Mr. Andrey Lukanov's one-party government.

The Socialists' leader, Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, said that Mr. Lukanov's government is expected to secure civil peace in the country, a peaceful transition to democracy and to start implementing the reforms which this country so badly needs.

Another speaker added to these demands the eradication of black-marketeering, a fair distribution on the basis of a wider introduction of rationing and securing heating and lighting for people's homes in the winter by switching off money-losing productions.

The participants in the rally chanted "Demagogues" in response to the opposition's reluctance to enter a coalition government with the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party]. Mr. Aleksandur Lilov said that the "monochrome" cabinet is a result of the lack at this stage of any more possibilities for dialogue on the matter with the opposition and that the BSP assumes the responsibility for running the country.

A member of Mr. Lukanov's cabinet claimed that until the last minute the opposition showed willingness for the formation of some sort of coalition or programme government but in the long run decided to make political capital on the situation.

Army Officers' Legion Declares Loyalty to Zhelev

AU2009134490 Sofia BTA in English 1243 GMT 20 Sep 90

["Military Officers Organize on Nonpartisan Basis"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 20 Sep (BTA)—A group of Bulgarian military officers, representing all services, yesterday assured Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic and commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces, of their loyalty. At a news conference here today, the leadership of the newly founded G.S. Rakovski Bulgarian Legion, whose members include up to 11,000 mostly junior officers on active service, stressed the organization's resolve not to allow it to be used in the interest of any political force.

The legion, which seeks to solve a number of social and professional problems facing the officers, urges for a depoliticization in a broader context, within the framework of a general law depoliticizing civil servants. The organization wants a contract with the state to guarantee officers' interests irrespective of which political force will assume the reins of government.

The representatives of the legion declared themselves in favour of the continued existence of the Warsaw Treaty insofar as it safeguards national security and there is no other system for the protection of national interests. They expressed the view that the balance of forces in the Balkans is rather different from the balance of interests in Central Europe.

The participants in the press conference distanced themselves from the opinion expressed in the press by another member of the legion about the possibility of Bulgaria joining NATO.

It was indicated that the officers' organization does not oppose the appointment of a civilian as a minister of defence but along with that, that the role of the General Staff of the Army should be upgraded.

Christian Social Union Protests on Ethnic Issue

AU2009183890 Sofia BTA in English 1545 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, 20 Sep (BTA)—The recently established Christian Social Union today held its first action in front of the National Assembly building here today.

The demonstrators—chairmen of parties and members of parties' national leaderships—raised slogans calling on the Grand National Assembly to address without delay the ethnic issue and to rule on the legitimacy of the registered Movement for Rights and Freedoms.

The Christian Social Union was established when the Christian Social Confederation (CSC) and the Confederation of Opposition Forces (COF) united. The CSC and the COF are made up of parties which, with the exception of the Fatherland Party of Labour, are not represented in parliament.

The leadership of the Movement for National and Objective Television also took part in the protest.

National Bread Production Difficulties Reported

AU2109082490 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 17 Sep 90 p 1

[Dora Kostadinova report: "Standing in Line for Bread"]

[Text] Thank God, one still does not need coupons for bread. However, one has to stand in line to obtain it. Furthermore, it quickly disappears from the stores, a fact which cannot be explained by the people's tendency to overstock it.

"We produce about 27,000 loaves of bread less than in previous years," Yulita Pavlova, head of a shift at the Bread Producing Enterprise No. 3, says. Her statement refers only to her enterprise. However, both Pavlova and her shift colleagues think that other bread producing enterprises in Sofia have the same problem.

The question of how much bread the enterprise produces is inappropriate, because there are three correct answers: according to the enterprise's capacity, its possibilities, and the number of orders it receives. If all four installed production lines function, the enterprise should produce daily about 96 tonnes of bread. However, nobody here remembers such a miracle in recent days. Only two production lines are functioning since the summer. For their part, they take turns breaking down, subsequently, the real orders the enterprise accepts directly depend on the caprices of the equipment.

The repair work takes place under the principle "a new part in an old furnace" or "an old part in a new furnace." In other words, while you repair one thing, another breaks down.

The people are used to working under such conditions. When the machines are generous, the enterprise assumes some of the orders submitted to other enterprises, which otherwise cannot be fulfilled. Subsequently, they rely on the same professional solidarity in case of a serious breakdown.

For example, on Saturday the morning shift remained in the enterprise more than 10 hours in order to fulfill the order for 57.5 million tonnes bread. The two previous shifts produced together 41 million tonnes bread.

The variety of bread also depends on the surprises of the equipment. Now Bread Producing Enterprise No. 3 produces two instead of four kinds of bread.

Nobody likes the difficult production conditions. The dilapidated equipment increases substandard production and the related additional heavy work. The recent wage increase was almost fully swallowed by the inflation. The people who mostly breath flour dust continue to work for 140 leva.

A 74-year-old worker continues to work at Bread Producing Enterprise No. 3. Of the eight master-bakers, three should already be pensioners, while two are on the verge of this age. One does not notice any eager apprentices near them.

"You pay four leva for a haircut, while a loaf of bread is 10 times cheeper," Slavcho Ivanov, who works for 45 years in the enterprise, says. His comparison is not accidental. It reflects his feelings about the public assessment of his work.

As all other people today, the workers of the bread producing enterprise are being "bombarded" by politics. Nevertheless, they never thought of striking. They have never even dreamed of leaving Sofia without bread. However, will the time ever come when the politicians remember the bread-producing workers?

Agreement on Hard Currency Relations With USSR

AU2109091490 Sofia BTA in English 2217 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, 20 Sep (BTA correspondent)—This evening the Governments of Bulgaria and of the USSR signed an agreement whereby a new regulatory mechanism will be introduced for bilateral economic relations as from January 1, 1991. This means that contracts will be concluded in current international price terms and accounts will be settled in freely convertible currency.

The agreement will change radically the trade and economic relations between the two countries and will place them on a market basis. The partners will be able to use a wide range of direct contacts and all forms of trade and economic relations known to international practice.

Another intergovernmental agreement, also due for signing, will specify the forms of bilateral settlements for commodity and non-commodity operations.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newscast at 2100 GMT on 20 September, when reporting the signing of the above agreement, adds that the agreement was signed in Moscow by "Konstantin Katushev, minister of foreign economic relations of the USSR, and Bulgarian Ambassador Georgi Pankov."]

Belchev Meets UK Bank Governor in London

AU2009183190 Sofia BTA in English 1753 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] London, 20 Sep (BTA)—Mr. Belcho Belchev, minister of finance and head of the Bulgarian economic delegation which paid a brief working visit here on its way to the United States, conferred with representatives of the Rover Group and with Mr. Robin Leigh-Pemberton, governor of the Bank of England.

At the meeting with the Rover executives, the sides considered the opportunities for further cooperation for the establishment in Bulgaria of production capacities with the help of the company. The talks will be carried on to look into the economic feasibility of the project.

In their session, Mr. Belcho Belchev and Mr. Robin Leigh-Pemberton focused on the forthcoming admission of Bulgaria to the International Monetary Fund and to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

The participants in the talks further considered the opportunities to support Bulgaria's request to speed up the joint programme with the IMF which will provide the groundwork for Bulgaria's future cooperation with the IMF, with the World Bank and with the Western lending institutes. The talks touched on the areas of economic reform in Bulgaria.

Federal Assembly Meets for Sixth Joint Session

Discusses 1968 Invasion

LD1909192190 Prague CTK in English 1631 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 19 (CTK)—The necessity of cohesion of all democratic forces wishing that Czechoslovak society develop along a democratic path was stressed by Czechoslovak parliament Chairman Alexander Dubcek at a session of the Federal Assembly (parliament) here today.

He spoke broadly about views on the revival process in Czechoslovakia in 1968 (crushed by the Soviet-led invasion in August the same year) which have appeared of late and which stir the political atmosphere, and threaten to drag the new democratic movement of citizens into profound political instability.

Speaking about criminality in the country, he said the situation is unsatisfactory. The crime rate is growing and the process of improving the police corps has not been completed. He said that the police must be rid of all those who still recently were active in suppressing all that is democratic.

First deputy Czechoslovak Prosecutor General Lubomir Veleta said at today's session of Czechoslovak parliament that the Soviet side has refused to take direct or indirect part in the investigation of the Warsaw Treaty armed intervention in Czechoslovakia in August 1968 and thus in initiating political trials which might follow.

Veleta said that interrogations of Czechoslovak political figures in connection with the intervention which crushed the revival process in the counry in 1968 have not been terminated and investigation continues.

Interrogated has been, for instance, Vasil Bilak, a former leading representative of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, who denied that he had been involved in the writing of a letter to Soviet officials to take an armed move against Czechoslovakia in 1968. Responsibility for the August 1968 events has been rejected also by Gustav Husak, then Czechoslovak deputy premier and later Czechoslovakia's leading normalizer.

Lubomir Veleta also said that the prosecutor's offices of all the Warsaw Treaty member states have been asked to cooperate in investigating the 1968 invasion, regardless of whether they took part in it or not.

Approves International Agreements

AU1909155990 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 14 Sep 90 pp 1, 8

["(HA)" and "(ST)"-signed report: "The French Language in Parliament"]

[Excerpt] The CSFR Government's eight months of trying to create conditions for a market economy will culminate at the sixth joint session of the Federal Assembly Chamber of People and Chamber of Nations which began yesterday in Prague.

During the course of five days, the deputies will not just discuss many economic laws, they will also deal more thoroughly with the scenario for economic reform which is a strategic decision about the nature of our society in the future and about its international status. We want to be equal partners with the advanced European countries. The presence of French President Francois Mitterrand and the speech he delivered to parliament underlined the topical nature of this effort.

The session was opened by Rudolf Battek, deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly. The plenum stood in order to pay its final respects to Slavomir Stracar, minister of foreign trade, who died recently. When approving its program, parliament decided to add to its agenda the law on mitigating the consequences of some property related crimes—so-called restitution—which is legal support for the demands made by those citizens who in the past were deprived of the right to own property. This involves approximately 70,000 properties, small village inns, shops, apartment houses with business premises, plots of land, and so on. The law does not only have political significance, it is also important for small-scale privatization.

During the very first round of voting, the new electronic voting equipment supplied by the Research Institute for Communication Technology in Prague had an unsuccessful debut. No matter how the deputies voted, the electric scoreboard constantly showed the same figures. Thus, the votes were counted the old way. Luckily, our guest from Europe, Francois Mitterrand, was coming later.

After discussing procedural issues, the Federal Assembly discussed the draft agreements on the IMF, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Finance Corporation, the Multilateral Agency for Investment Guarantees, and the International Development Association. The agreements were supported by Vaclav Klaus, federal finance minister. He stated that these are the most important international financial organizations and that the CSFR's membership in them can significantly contribute to the success of economic reform because the IMF's fundamental aims coincide with the endeavor to open up our economy to the world. We were one of the founding members of the IMF and the World Bank; however, in 1954 we ceased to participate in their activities.

The CSFR will gain a serious position on international monetary and capital markets by renewing its membership in these organizations. An advantage of joining the IMF is that it provides an opportunity to utilize its mechanism, including drawing on sources of credit, participating in projects financed by the World Bank, gaining information on world economic and currency development, and free assistance in training specialists. The CSFR's financial quota for the IMF has been fixed

at more than $700 million. This is divided into a contribution amounting to 22.7 percent, which will be defrayed in freely convertible currency from the state's foreign currency reserves, and a sum calculated in korunas, which amounts to approximately 10 billion korunas from the state's assets. The Federal Assembly expressed its agreement with these international agreements. After it is ratified by the president of the Republic, the agreement on the CSFR's readmittance into the IMF and the World Bank will be signed in Washington on 20 September by Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus. [passage omitted]

Elects New Presidium Member

LD2009105590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0830 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Excerpt] We are now going over to the Federal Assembly building in Prague for correspondent Lubos Lidicky to report on proceedings at the fifth day of the sixth joint session of both chambers.

[Lidicky] Good morning from the parliament. The first item on today's agenda was a secret ballot election of a new Federal Assembly Presidium member. This was because the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence [VPN] Deputies' Club of the Chamber of the People elected Deputy Jozef Baksay as its leader.

How did Civic Forum and VPN deputies vote? A total of 122 ballots were distributed; 87 deputies voted—62 in favor and 25 against. As a result, Deputy Jozef Baksay was elected a member of the Federal Assembly Presidium. [passage omitted]

Dubcek Lists Three Main Parliamentary Tasks

AU1909150690 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 13 Sep 90 pp 1, 3

[Article by Alexander Dubcek, Federal Assembly chairman: "Three Main Tasks for the Autumn"]

[Text] I am of the opinion that there are three tasks facing the Federal Assembly in the months to come. All are equally important, despite the fact that I have to put them in the following order:

First, a further democratization of our political system;

Second, regulating the relations between the Federation and national republics;

Third, the economic reform, the scenario of which has been presented by the government.

1. I am not going to remind you what we have already had some success in legislation in this area. Everyone knows what revolutionary changes have taken place. This does not mean, however, that we have achieved our goal. An important step in this direction will be the constitutional law on fundamental rights and freedoms, the preparations for which have already begun. This constitutional law will confirm political, social, cultural, and personal rights and freedoms on the level corresponding to a modern democratic society, which will definitely stop treating people as objects of manipulation. It would be more than symbolic if this constitutional law was passed as of 17 November 1990, the anniversary of the November revolution.

Upcoming local elections are very important for developing and completing democratic changes. By these elections, the system of democratic representation of the citizens will be completed. The effective functioning of all the links of representation—boards of representatives of cities and villages, National Councils and the Federal Assembly—is the alpha and omega of a genuine democratic order.

2. In recent weeks questions concerning the improvement of our Federation came into focus. This is quite legitimate, since the democratization of the relations between national republics and the Federation is the core of the democratization process. I am deeply convinced, and I have said it many times, that the right way is the way of creating a democratic federation. Only in the form of a federation does our state have a chance of asserting itself and of taking its corresponding position in the European Communities and in the world.

We are going to talk about these questions in parliament. We take the view that all three constitutions should be synchronized and coordinated in a timely way. We want to discuss mutual cooperation between the Federal Assembly and national councils at a joint meeting at the end of September this year.

The relationship between Czechs and Slovaks has always been and still is a crucial question for our statehood; however, it does not cover all the national problems in our country. We can often observe the elements of racism, or national or ethnic exclusivity. The manifestations of racism and chauvinism feed and stimulate one another. A spiral of hatred is created, which does not make for our good reputation at home and abroad and has a negative impact on the changes in our society.

3. The development has shown that trying to avoid a market economy means wasting time unnecessarily. During the general discussion that has gone on for three-quarters of a year, no other significant ideas or solutions have appeared. Our international economic relations will be transformed, as soon as next year, into market relations and world prices. The strategy of the economic reform presented by the government is currently being discussed in parliament. By the end of the year, a "package" of economic laws will have been discussed.

The market economy will not be introduced by law; however, we have to regulate by law various conditions necessary for its implementation, development, and operation. It is necessary that private ownership be introduced into the important areas of the economy. This is a condition required by the market. It is important to introduce free prices on the domestic market and

to adjust ourselves to world prices, and to introduce competition in products, capital, and the labor force.

The restructuring of our social and economic base is a profound revolutionary change. This, of course, meets with conservatism. We can feel its strength, acceleration, and motivation even today. The common denominator is that we are used to an average gray. The well-know requirement that competent people be given prospects and appropriate remuneration is coming up against the attempt to keep old positions and retain average efforts in work and management, but also against average social demands. The dogmas about equality that have existed for decades survive and will continue to survive for a long time to come.

Certainly, there are justified fears about the social impact that the transition to the market economy will have. This is why the governments should, when implementing laws, give due attention to the social needs and security of the people. This does not mean that today's generation will live at the expense of future generations. Here is why we strive for economic prosperity by implementing the market economy. Society can provide social security for citizens only if it has the means to do so.

Government Reviews Work on New Constitution

AU1909173390 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 14 Sep 90 p 8

[CTK report: "From the Communique on the Federal Government's Session"]

[Text] At its meeting yesterday, headed by Deputy Premier Vaclav Vales, the CSFR Government dealt with the progress report on the preparations regarding the new Constitution. The draft will be prepared so that it can be approved by all three parliaments on the anniversary of the democratic revolution of 17 November.

The government listened to a report about the joint meeting between the national governments and representatives of the Federal Government in Piestany. The government noted that, besides the 11 expert commissions, a 12th commission —a "super commission" comprised of the ministers for strategic planning—had been established, which is to summarize the results achieved by the 11 commissions.

Further, the government dealt with the proposals made by the Federal Ministry of National Defense and the Federal Ministry of the Interior regarding the transfer of state-owned enterprises, administered by these ministerial departments, into a category of enterprises beneficial to the public, which would allow their founders to determine the activity of these enterprises and to ask for a subsidy from the state budget if there is a deficit in their economy. The proposal caused a discussion full of contradictions. Ministers dealing with economic issues, in particular, understood the proposal as an attempt to escape from the hard conditions of a market economy. It was decided that the Federal Ministry of Finance would elaborate the principles according to which the special status of publicly beneficial enterprises would be granted to those state enterprises that manufacture products or offer services necessary for the defense and security of the state and for transportation and communications.

The government dealt with material presented by the Slovak Republic Government about the critical situation in the pulp factory in Ruzomberok, where there is a deficit of 318 million convertible korunas needed for the repayment of a loan payable in convertible currencies. The government rejected the solutions that suggested either increasing the passive balance with the foreign countries or redirecting the planned domestic deliveries of cellulose and paper to the countries with convertible currencies. Many other enterprises are in a similar situation and this is why the president of the Czechoslovak State Bank has been commissioned to prepare draft rules on how to proceed in such cases. As far as the Ruzomberok pulp factory is concerned, it was stated that it would be better to prevent the hasty export of the raw material that is in short supply even at the cost of extending the loan repayment period.

Among other issues discussed was the draft proposal by Tuzex foreign trade enterprise, which would halt the current practice of acquiring the coupons for convertible goods [konvertibilni zbozi] by paying with inconvertible currency. As of 1 January 1991, the issuing of coupons known as "vouchers" will be discontinued. The validity of existing coupons, the total value of which is estimated to be a billion "vouchers", will not be restricted, however. Tuzex will gradually orient itself toward payments in convertible currencies. Coupons, the value of which will be determined once and for all by fixing its rate to the Deutsche mark, will be used until their supply lasts. A number of unsolved questions connected with the remuneration of our workers abroad will be solved in cooperation with national governments.

The agenda of the government's meeting also contained a report on the results of the negotiations with the representatives of the World Bank in Prague on 27 to 31 August of this year. Based on the August negotiations, it is necessary to specify, as soon as possible, the demands that Czechoslovakia has in the various spheres of the World Bank's interests—particularly specific credit to implementation of economic reform. If the negotiations begin as soon as the CSFR is accepted as a member of the World Bank—that is, during the annual meeting of the IMF and the World Bank at the end of September—credit could be granted in March or April 1991.

New Federal Secret Service Law Outlined

AU2009155590 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 13 Sep 90 p 3

[Jan Subert report: "A Federal Secret Service"]

[Text] The new Czechoslovak secret service, distinguished by the title: Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy, is again at the center of

attention. This is not surprising; the practices of the former State Security are still too fresh in our minds and it is also possible to abuse power in a democratic society. We said a few topical words about this issue on Saturday [8 September]. Let us add today, then, that a law has already been prepared which will transfer the internal intelligence service from the Federal Ministry of the Interior [FMV] to direct parliamentary supervision and control.

This is not the first time we are monitoring events within the Office for the Protection of the Constitution, an office which is subordinate to the Federal Interior Ministry. We provided an extensive report—considerably in advance—about its mission when it was established in mid-March; we also followed in detail the struggle which was unleashed within the FMV concerning its purpose.

While at the beginning of the year voices were still being raised which belittled the urgency of the need for an internal intelligence service, today there are no doubts at all about its necessity. Although Europe is gradually dispensing with the majority of things which divided it, it would be naive if the efforts being made by terrorists, drug traffickers, and some of the still extant totalitarian regimes to misuse the trust between states were to be overlooked. All European countries, therefore, are perfecting their secret services, uncovering international crime, and amassing important information for their governments and parliaments. We cannot afford to be an exception.

With the arrival of democracy, the tacit agreement between the former state leadership and the bosses of international terrorism—who came to us to rest and recoup their strength—was no longer valid in our country. Today we are their enemies and we cannot expect anything good from them. Various racist and fascist movements are orienting themselves toward us and efforts are increasing to link the Western and Eastern international drug trafficking routes in Central Europe.

Our internal intelligence service must document the activity of foreign intelligence services and uncover the services of totalitarian regimes and countries with superpower ambitions which are capable of unleashing unfriendly activity against us. It is also possible, however, to expect negative tendencies from groups of people too closely associated with the former regime who are active in the economy and who have resolved to gain a decisive political influence through it.

It is, of course, understandable that the existence of every secret service—including those in democratic countries—arouses anxiety that it may be abused. On Saturday we wrote an unequivocal response to this—although, only in the form of a moral guarantee—which is topical at the moment. Following our conversations with senior employees of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution, we have the opportunity—once again in advance—to report on the only possible and reliable guarantee, a guarantee which lies in subordinating the intelligence service to the law.

We have become convinced that our internal intelligence service, although still subordinate to the FMV, is taking on the character of a civilian service where the spirit of military subordination and the blind fulfillment of orders does not prevail. However, even more important is the effort made by senior officials in the Office and in the FMV—an effort which has already resulted in the draft for a law on the Federal Service for the Protection of the Constitution—which transfers today's Office from an FMV department to direct parliamentary supervision and control. At the moment, the draft law has been submitted to approximately 60 different institutions for consideration and, following the completion of the comments system, the FMV will submit it to the Federal Government on 30 September. After it has been approved by the government, it should then be submitted to the parliamentary Defense and Security Committees sometime in November.

In the context of what has been stated above, it is worth mentioning the endeavors of the current Secret Service Corps leadership which wants to ensure that the deputies become familiar with the draft law before it is submitted to the government. In the next few days, therefore, representatives from the office intend to turn to the chairmen of the parliamentary Defense and Security Committees and suggest holding a special deputies' seminar.

It will not be long until the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy changes its master and its name. Its activity will be precisely and strictly specified by law. Let us just add that this step stems from a correct philosophy which rejects an uncontrollable monopoly on power, a philosophy which is normally applicable in all advanced democracies, a philosophy based upon the tried and tested principle of independent security organs which—and we will say it openly—monitor and watch each other. Let us hope that even in this sense, the new Federal Service for the Protection of the Constitution will not be an exception.

Ownership of SVOBODNE SLOVO Questioned

AU2009155490

[Editorial Report] Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 12 September, on page 3, under the title "To Whom Will Melantrich Belong?" publishes a 650-word interview with Cestmir Cejka, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the recently revived National Social Party, by Petr Novacek, ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY correspondent. The place and date of the interview are not given. As previously reported, the reviving current in the Czechoslovak Socialist Party [CSS] separated from the main body of the party and formed an independent National Social Party headed by Cestmir Cejka. The new chairman explains in the interview that his party separated before the upcoming party congress because they could not come to an agreement with the CSS leadership

and, therefore, waiting for a congress prepared by a party "built on the principle of democratic centralism" would be a waste of time.

Asked about the division of party assets, Cejka declares that in a democratic state, the property belongs to the original owner and, since the National Social Party is the successor to the original owner, i.e. the National Socialist Party (dispersed in 1948), the party assets rightly belong to them.

The assets singled out in the interview are the Melantrich publishing house and the party newspaper SVOBODNE SLOVO. According to Cejka, Melantrich used to be a joint-stock company with some links to the party and it should regain this position. "This means that the party leadership did not press CZECH or SVOBODNE SLOVO in the manner attempted by the CSS."

Asked about the possible coalition for the upcoming local elections, Cejka denied any coalition talks with the Republican Party of Czechoslovakia and, regarding the National Social Party's relations to Civic Forum, he said that next to the "corrected communists with whom we do not want to have anything to do," the Forum also includes decent people and "we have no right to generalize."

Entrepreneurs Air Views on Privatization, Taxes

AU2009155390 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 13 Sep 90 p 2

["(RU)"-signed report: "Reprivatization, Privatization, and Taxes"]

[Text] "Despite that fact that we have certain reservations about the wording of the reprivatization law, we consider its swift approval to be absolutely essential," said Rudolf Baranek, chairman of the Association of Czechoslovak Entrepreneurs [SCP], at a news conference organized by the association yesterday. "However, it is in our interest that better conditions for private enterprise are created as soon as possible; therefore, we will endeavor to ensure that some of our suggestions are projected into the law on small-scale privatization."

The association's reservations deal with, first and foremost, the narrowly stipulated extent of reprivatization. Specific objections are also oriented toward the technical aspect where the private entrepreneurs' representatives think that far too many background documents have to be submitted in order to assert their claim. Nevertheless, the association has resolved to do its best to meet its members' wishes and is amassing individual requests for the return of property in its district offices.

In the future, the SCP has also resolved to actively participate in preparing other laws, especially through the medium of the Committee for Private Enterprise which has been established within the Czech Republic Government. Its chairman is Premier Petr Pithart and three of the association's representatives are among the 14-member group. Consultative meetings involving representatives of entrepreneurs from district associations should form part of the preparations for the negotiations in this government committee. One of the consultative meetings is taking place in Prague today.

The taxation law has now been prepared for discussion in the Federal Assembly Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committees. Depreciation from long-term assets amounting to 40, 30, and 20 percent, and a further three-year reduction in taxes was included in the law's wording following a successful initiative by the SCP Presidium. This involves 60 percent in the first year, 40 percent in the second year, and 20 percent in the third year of enterprise. However, a private entrepreneur has to prove that he has devoted the appropriate sum to developing his business. According to the prepared draft, advertising costs should also be a part of expenditure.

In connection with the taxation regulations, Dr. Ladislav Vostarek referred to a certain inconsistency in the issue about who will be the recipient of the taxes. According to the scenario for economic reform, the community should be the recipient and, according to the draft law on the Czech Republic's budget, the national fund should be the recipient. There is a danger here that the community—which will seek resources for its development—will want to collect local surcharges and taxes which, of course, would be a double burden for the private entrepreneur.

According to Engineer Pavel Dvorak, positive results were achieved in the discussions about the amendment concerning economic ties with foreign countries. The Association of Czechoslovak Entrepreneurs, which has long pointed to senseless obstacles such as the 14 stamps necessary to merely register with the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade, is endeavoring to make only two endorsements necessary for this. One involves proof of a clean record (a note from the criminal records office) and the other involves registration with the small business office. A private entrepreneur who has decided to conduct foreign business activity would then only require a license relating to the individual commodities from the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade.

Balance of Payments for First Semester Reported

AU1909154690 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 13 Sep 90 pp 1, 8

["(st)"-signed report: "Balance of the CSFR Payments in the First Semester; Reasonable Level of Debts"]

[Text] The balance of payments of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic showed neither credits nor debits in the first half of 1990. There was a deficit of 2.8 billion korunas in the convertible currency account. The national debt was reduced so that our debts as of 30 June totaled $7.1 billion. This information was provided by Josef Tosovsky, chairman of the Czechoslovak State Bank, at a news conference yesterday.

After six years, the balance of our convertible currency account (i.e., the difference between our receivable and payable accounts) moved into the red and showed a debit of 1.7 billion korunas (at the beginning of the year, this account showed a surplus of 1.1 billion korunas). Our accounts payable at the end of the half year totaled 117.3 billion korunas, while our accounts receivable totaled 115.6 billion korunas. Last year's export dynamism could not be maintained. Furthermore, imports, after being adjusted for exchange rate fluctuations, rose by 19.8 percent compared to the same period of 1989. Despite this unfavorable development, the balance of trade (i.e., exports minus imports) remained in the black to the sum of 5.3 billion korunas. The size of the surplus was, however, substantially smaller than in past years. For instance, the trade surplus for the first half of 1989 was approximately twice that amount.

The national debt, which is the total indebtedness of all national economic entities without adjustment for claims, is favourable. It amounted to $7.9 billion at the end of the year, and, during the next six months, $0.8 billion was repaid. This debt repayment, however, is not included in the current account (the balance there ended with a deficit) because the debts were paid off using reserves built up in the past. Most of these payments went to finance the import credits received by the foreign trade organizations. This year, the private sector is utilizing funds from its foreign currency accounts to speed up the payments for imports. As a result, imports covered by supplier credits are substantially lower than they were.

At the end of the first half of 1990, the current account balance in nonconvertible currencies (rubles and currencies of counter trade dealings) was also in the red with a deficit of 4.9 billion korunas. That is a change in the trend of surpluses experienced in this area to date. For instance, the credit balance for the first six months of 1989 exceeded 7 billion korunas. The most important element, i.e., the trade balance, has ended with a deficit of 3.6 billion korunas. A typical reason for the decline is a slump in the dynamism of exports (77.8 percent of last year's figure) and imports (85.1 percent). This reflects above all the difficulties being experienced by Yugoslavia and CEMA member states, which, as a result, are losing interest in our goods (particularly the investment type) [hlavne investicini povahy] and they cannot offer goods which are of interest to us. It may be either a result of low quality or of insufficient supply (oil and other raw materials).

Territorially, the nonconvertible currency current account deficit is concentrated in trade with the GDR (-3 billion korunas), Poland (-3.4 billion korunas), Yugoslavia (-0.6 billion korunas), and China (-1.1 billion korunas). However, since, in 1991, we are going to start trading with these countries in convertible currencies, this development cannot be assessed positively.

With respect to the credit balance, net credits given by us in nonconvertible currencies to the amount of 42.8 billion korunas are made up of government credits (63 percent), bank credit balance (22 percent) and the remainder represents the assets of the private sector. Hence, the results for the first half of 1990 are not the worst, nevertheless, we cannot overlook the trends which could, should they continue, have serious consequences.

Last T-55 Tank Destroyed in Novy Jicin

LD1909171590 Prague CTK in English 1625 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 19 (CTK)—The last T55 tank out of 850 tanks which Czechoslovakia unilaterally pledged to liquidate at the beginning of 1989 was symbolically destroyed in Novy Jicin, North Moravia, today. Also present was Czechoslovak defence minister, Army General Miroslav Vacek.

Vacek told present journalists that final results from the Vienna talks on cuts in conventional weapons are now being awaited. Czechoslovakia originally had 4,500 tanks, of which 850 have been liquidated. The dismantling of other machines, including planes, will be very extensive. Also solved must be several ecological aspects as about 50 litres of diesel oil and other substances remain in each tank even after thorough drainage. Their paint is also poisonous, Vacek said.

Slovak Premier Speech on Economy, Other Issues

AU2009124690 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 17 Sep 90 p 2

[Report on speech by Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar on Czechoslovak Television on 16 September: "Apropos Visits, Conversion, and Privatization"]

[Text] Bratislava—The Slovak premier delivered another television address on Sunday [16 September] evening. In his regular address he evaluated, among other things, the important visits being made to the CSFR by foreign political representatives.

"The results of Mr. Mitterrand's visit," he said, "will be very positive. In essence, we have ended the period since 1938 and have entered into a new era of cooperation. In our policy we proceed from the premise that when we oriented ourselves toward the West alone, we did not fare too well, and when we oriented ourselves toward the East alone, we also did not fare too well. We, therefore, are searching for a realistic form for today's Slovak policy so that a well-balanced bridge of relations is built between East and West. Our path toward strengthening Slovakia's economy ensues from this. We perceive this path in such a way that Slovakia will open itself up to all the states in Europe, enabling everyone to develop their own programs, invest their own resources, and help us and themselves. We are not waiting with outstretched hands; we are offering business and we are offering cooperation. We do not want charity.

"We want to make the development of capital investment by all states possible on our territory. Should

European capital not be interested, then U.S. capital is interested; Asian capital has also shown an interest. We are opening our doors to everyone equally.

"In connection with the arrival of Prime Minister Thatcher and other guests, we are adding to our discussion agenda another important issue which we have so far—and it is probably our own fault—not accentuated appropriately, or politically, enough. Slovakia is contributing toward a peaceful Europe not only within the framework of Czechoslovakia, but it is also making a special contribution. This contribution results from the fact that the most comprehensive conversion of the armament industry is taking place on our territory. Europe should be made aware of our effort, should appreciate it, and not just accept that it is our internal affair. We emphasize that the conversion program must not end in failure. It is in our interest and in the interest of everyone else. Let those who are embarking upon our road see that converting armament production to peaceful production is possible and beneficial. We also discussed this with the NATO secretary general. He promised that NATO will deal with similar issues and that its experts will help us to prepare projects.

"As far as the Hungarian foreign minister's visit is concerned, we will look for methods of mutual understanding; it is necessary to show goodwill on both sides. It is necessary to accept goodwill.

"When we turn to issues associated with foreign relations, it is impossible not to be aware of the processes that are taking place inside our state. After Piestany we took on further work; many of you know what was discussed there, so I will not mention it. Let us turn quickly to other aspects. We received a letter from the Slovak Ore Mines enterprises which stated that they do not want to be managed by the Slovak Republic Government. We do not know why. A parallel position was also adopted by the chairmen of the trade unions representing employees in the gas and oil production enterprises. Apparently, joint Czech-Slovak enterprises should be established. We take every opinion into consideration, but if it is written on behalf of a working collective, we want to ask you—miners, gas, and oil workers—if you were consulted about this? Or, are private opinions being put forward? Everyone has the right to his own opinion, but where opinions are presented on behalf of a collective, the collective must be asked whether or not it agrees with this opinion.

"Czech-Slovak relations (apart from the form at the Piestany discussions) are now entering the final phase of the preparation period of very important decisions which will concern privatization. On 27 September we will meet in Kromeriz with the Federal Government and the Czech Government. We will adopt draft laws which will be submitted to the Federal Assembly so that small-scale privatization can be started as soon as possible. We are explaining our policies and proposals. Enterprises such as restaurants and other places of business should be privatized as quickly as possible. Of course, we are interested in ensuring that the whole process take place as quickly as possible and in an organized manner; we are especially interested in ensuring that it is to the benefit of our people. We are also negotiating with several companies in Western Europe which are interested in developing services for citizens on our territory. I am very attracted by the project proposed by a certain company. It will import goods into our country and sell them to our citizens at our prices, but it does not want to export the profit; it wants to establish another shop and, thus, in the course of several years a serious business base will be established on our territory."

Hungary's Jeszensky Interviewed Prior to Visit

AU2009101590 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 17 Sep 90 p 4

[CTK report: "G. Jeszensky Prior to His Talks in Slovakia"]

[Text] Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszensky gave an interview to the Czechoslovak journalists accredited in Budapest prior to his visit to the Slovak Republic.

He stated that he also considers it necessary to establish contacts with Slovak representatives, among other things, because he wants to be informed first hand about Slovak public opinion and about the views expressed by the Slovak leadership. So far—apart from a short meeting with Mr. Carnogursky—he has not had an opportunity. In reference to the news conference following his recent visit to Prague, where—in his opinion—what he said was distorted, he said: "I was asked a rather delicate question about whether or not Hungary recognizes the Trianon Treaty and whether or not it would continue to recognize the Slovak-Hungarian border if Slovakia were to become independent. At first I considered the question to be so hypothetical that I did not want to answer it. However, in view of the fact that, on the other hand, I wanted the atmosphere at the news conference to be more relaxed, I asked the journalists not to consider my reply as sensational and said that Hungary does not recognize the Trianon Treaty because it is no longer valid. We have to start from the Paris peace treaties at the end of World War II—that is, from 1947. I added a few more details to this. At that time, it would not have occurred to me in my wildest dreams that any of those in attendance could come to the conclusion that we do not recognize the borders. Trianon is part of the past related to the end of World War I. I think an unfair attempt was made—although only out of sensational motives—to interpret a clearly expressed point of view so differently."

In reply to a question on the status of the Slovak minority in Hungary, Geza Jeszensky expressed his conviction that minority rights are adhered to in his country. All of those who are preoccupied with studying these rights must also come to the same conclusion. Undoubtedly, there are areas where there could be an improvement. He stated that in mixed communities place names are rendered in both languages. He

admitted, however, that this is only symbolic. "We consider the laws to be much more important," continued the Hungarian minister. "During the previous communist era in Hungary, a lot of pretty words were spoken about rights. However, just as civil rights were never implemented, the policy toward the ethnic minorities was not the same as it was proclaimed to be. This autumn the government will submit a draft law to parliament on rights for the nationalities and ethnic minorities living in Hungary. A special office for national and ethnic minorities has been established independently of this which will deal with this problem at a government level."

Officials Discuss European Community Entry

LD2009122990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] The development of cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the European Community was the main point of the talks between Jiri Dienstbier, deputy federal premier and minister of foreign affairs, and Jacques Delors, chairman of the European Community Commission.

Minister Dienstbier praised the attitude of the commission toward Czechoslovakia's effort to return to Europe, Jacques Delors pointed to the need of developing political dialogue between Czechoslovakia and the European Community and at the same time deepening mutual economic relations. He announced that Premier Marian Calfa on 31 October will receive an answer to the letter in which he expressed interest in the opening of talks as soon as possible on the agreement on Czechoslovakia's joining the European Community.

CSFR Renews Membership in IMF, Other Bodies

LD2009165190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] The Czech and Slovak Federal Republic today joined the IMF, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and three other affiliated organizations. Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus signed a number of documents in Washington which renew Czechoslovakia's membership in these organizations.

Travel Agreement Signed With Three Countries

LD1909125490 Prague CTK in English 1145 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 19 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Zdenko Pirek, and Belgian and Dutch Ambassadors to Czechoslovakia Henri Beyens and Lambert d'Ansembourg signed here today an official communique removing visa duty in travels to Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg.

In harmony with the document, citizens of the contractual states can travel to all these countries and stay for three months provided they do not enter a job.

Oil Purchases To Compensate for Soviet Shortfalls

LD2009174790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Gabor Bankuti report]

[Text] At its session today, the government approved that the Crude Oil and Gas Industry Trust and Mineralimpex should—within their own sphere of authority and without individual permits—purchase 450,000 tonnes of crude oil and 35,000 tonnes of gasoline this year, in the most commercially advantageous form and time, and probably valued at $150 million. This will probably counterbalance the reduction in Soviet supply. At the same time the government calls on all small and large consumers, production plants, and citizens to consider thriftiness to be their duty, as the hard currency expenditure is a great burden on the country.

The Council of Ministers reviewed the projects being constructed within the framework of the Yamburg Agreement. It established that the the country's economy cannot do without the Soviet natural gas that we will receive within the framework of the agreement. The forint value of the 15 billion cubic metres of natural gas which is due in payment for the work covers the Hungarian investment costs. A breach of the contract would entail grave material losses. For this reason the government is lifting the ban imposed on drawing up private contracts for those enterprises participating in this work. At present medical workers are studying health aspects connected with the construction. Those enterprises drawing up private contracts will have to deal with stricter health requirements.

The government approved the three-year action draft plan which details the principles and laws that have to be enacted in order to create a market economy. This is necessary in order for us to guarantee the agreement made with the World Bank for the financing of the program of structure adjustment. Many tasks, from the liberalization of external trade and financial matters to tax and budget reform, feature this in detail. The most urgent is the new law on accountancy, which will make it possible for foreign investors to see Hungarian financial matters clearly.

Finally, the government took cognizance of the fact that on Monday Hungarian-Soviet intergovernmental talks will commence in Budapest on the material and financial questions—as well as those related to rights of property—connected to the Soviet troop withdrawal.

Lithuanian Parliamentary Delegation Holds Talks

LD2009173790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] A delegation of the Lithuanian Parliament is holding talks in Budapest on preparations for a visit to our capital by Lithuanian President Landsbergis. The delegation was received by the members of the Hungarian National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee. At the discussions, the guests from Vilnius proposed that a Lithuanian information office be set up in Budapest as soon as possible. They also suggested that, with the participation of the foreign affairs committees of the Hungarian, Czechoslovak, Polish, Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian parliaments, talks should begin on possibilities for Eastern European cooperation. The Lithuanian proposal was supported by the Hungarian side.

Romanian Parliament Leaders Invited for Talks

LD2009175390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Gyorgy Szabad, speaker of parliament, has invited the highest-ranking officials and delegation of the Romanian Parliament to visit Budapest. The speaker of the Hungarian parliament has just replied to the letter that the Romanian Parliament's Senate and House of Deputies addressed to him at the start of the month. Gyorgy Szabad welcomes with sincere agreement the Romanian Parliament's decision to strive to build a pluralist society, and the fact that it wishes to guarantee identical freedom for every citizen in the country, without any distinctions based on nationality. The speaker of the National Assembly agrees that the two countries should replace hatred with reconciliation, and for this reason he respectfully invites the representatives of the Romanian Parliament for discussions in Budapest.

Antall Receives French Industrialists

LD2009171890 Budapest MTI in English 1611 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 20 (MTI)—On Thursday Prime Minister Jozsef Antall met the delegation from the National Council of French Industrialists (CNPF), currently in Hungary under the leadership of President Francois Perigot.

Speaking about his government's economic and foreign policy aims, the prime minister pointed out that economic and political restructuring, centred around the establishment of a market economy, was a completely new undertaking for Hungary.

He stressed that the government attached exceptional importance to intensifying political and economic relations with France.

The CNPF president declared the intention of French companies to make their presence felt in the Hungarian economy.

Nuclear Energy Agreement Initialed With U.S.

LD2009154890 Budapest MTI in English 1132 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 20, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Gyorgy Vajda, deputy chairman of Hungary's National Nuclear Energy Committee, and Ambassador Richard Kennedy, chief advisor on nuclear affairs

to the U.S. secretary of state, have initialled a Hungarian-U.S. inter-governmental agreement on wide-ranging cooperation in the peaceful and safe use of nuclear energy at IAEA's [International Atomic Energy Agency] general meeting in Vienna.

The agreement, which accords with the international Non-Proliferation Treaty, opens the door to the pooling of technical information and expertise and for the delivery of nuclear materials, equipment and units.

Hungarian officials have told MTI's Vienna correspondent that, with the initialling of the agreement, direct cooperation can start between Hungary and the U.S. on the application of nuclear energy in energetics, industry, agriculture, medicine, environmental protection and other peaceful objectives.

The fact that Hungary is the first East European country with which the United States has been willing to establish bilateral links in this vital field further enhances the importance of the agreement.

Uranium Mine Director on Reorganization, Prospects

AU1909114290 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 13 Sep 90 p 6

[Interview with Mihaly Varga, director general of the Mecsek Ore Mining Enterprise, by Miklos Z. Hajduska; place and date not given: "The Chances of Survival—Agreement Signed—There Are No Irreversible Damages"]

[Excerpts] The uranium mine has been sold. The Irish will save the miners in Pecs! Such news have emerged about the Mecsek Ore Mining Enterprise [MEV] recently. There is, of course, a grain of truth in all news; therefore, we asked Mihaly Varga to inform our readers about the current situation.

[Varga] We signed an agreement with the Irish firm of Glencar on 30 August, following some eight months of intensive negotiations. This agreement stipulates the conditions for cooperation up to 31 December 1990 so that we can sign the agreement on the establishment of a joint enterprise by the end of this year. We also established a consultative body with three members from both the MEV and Glencar, and we will, of course, include experts in the activity of this body. This committee will have an Irish chairman and the MEV director general will act as an advisory body until the establishment of the joint enterprise. [passage omitted]

[Hajduska] According to your expectations, what percentage of the newly established joint enterprise will be Hungarian?

[Varga] We can talk about final percentages only after concluding the property evaluation. It seems almost certain, however, that there can be no Hungarian majority in the new enterprise because this would be not realistic.

[Hajduska] In a previous interview you said that, according to your estimates, there are problems with the employment of about 800-1,000 workers in this enterprise which already reduced its personnel at the time.

[Varga] Our initial enterprise employing 7,000 people reduced its personnel to 4,500 by its own means. We need a further reduction of 2,000 people. Out of this number, we can provide work in individual ventures for about 600 people. About 600 people can receive severance pay or other financial allocations, but this does not mean that these people will find a new job immediately. Their future, however, is somewhat assured; the future of about 800 people is uncertain. [passage omitted]

[Hajduska] What does the establishment of this joint enterprise mean from the viewpoint of market strategy? I refer here to Soviet relations, for example....

[Varga] At their talks with the Soviets, the Irish partners expressed their intention to adhere to the current contract that is valid until the end of 1993. Besides, these negotiations would have taken place anyhow because of the shifting to accounting in convertible currency. The Glencar company is ready to maintain the Soviet contacts in the long term, too.

[Hajduska] At the moment, you are producing as much uranium as the Soviet partner is ready to import. How will this change in the future?

[Varga] The Soviets want to import only as much as is needed to produce fuel for the nuclear power plant in Paks. For the rest of our production, we must look for markets ourselves. [passage omitted]

Students Protest Government Education Policy

LD2009173990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] University and college students are protesting nationwide against the government's education policy. The students object to the fact that in spite of promises, this year they are getting even less material support for their studies than before. They cannot participate in the running of their schools in the manner promised, and they cannot have a say in the selection of deans and rectors. For example, at the University of Economics, the students demonstrated against the withdrawal of support for meals by frying eggs for lunch themselves, in protest. The National Higher Education Interest-Protection Association [Orszagos Felso Oktatasi Erdekvedelmi Szovetseg] gave an ultimatum to the government and announced another national demonstration for next Wednesday [26 September].

Further on Cardinal Glemp Meeting With Leaders

Glemp Gives Welcoming Speech

AU2109094990 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 19 Sep 90 p 3

[Speech by Cardinal Jozef Glemp at the meeting of key national political figures in Warsaw on 18 September]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen! I have taken the liberty of inviting you to the home of the archbishops of Warsaw. Thank you very much for accepting the invitation. I warmly welcome everyone with a feeling of respect and love, both the love that stems from Christian virtue, and the love that stems from patriotism, for I see Poland, our fatherland, embodied in the politicians who bear responsibility for society, and society has to be loved.

With what great love Cardinal Hlond wrote a letter to the fatherland from his exile in Lourdes, painting a new picture of Poland at a time of its greatest tragedy. On 18 December 1941, he wrote: "Poland's new greatness will be the achievement of all Polish hearts and the greatest joint effort in our history. It is a fundamental mistake to measure today's tasks against the average scale of history and the scale of yesterday's changes. We are facing something completely new, exceptional, unique for the first time in many generations."

Cardinal Wyszynski once said that the church has never been silent in our history. To prove this, I will cite the words of a modest woman but great Pole, the Blessed Urszula Ledochowska, in 1916: "When one loves one's country, one wants to see it happy, free, and prosperous, but most of all great and noble."

This house lives in this very spirit and with similar thoughts. I want to employ this house as a place of calm and concentration. Before delivering a major sermon, Christ would go to a quiet place in order to concentrate. I wish you fruitful concentration, reflection, and a sharing of information. Let them be the start of programmatic action, and an inspiration for better service for the fatherland—and Poland.

Meeting Deemed 'A Necessary One'

AU2109074990 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 19 Sep 90 p 3

[Zbyslaw Rykowski and Dariusz Szymczycha commentary: "Recollection"]

[Text] Expectations were enormous. It seemed that an agreement would be reached concerning a few concrete and practical solutions, that at least a date for the election and election procedure would be fixed.

Nothing of the sort. There were only declarations of intent. Everyone said his own thing. Does this mean the meeting was disappointing? No. This is how things are and how they will be. The political deal is disappearing as an element of the old order. It has become something to be ashamed of.

The "roundtable" has been criticized as an agreement between elites. It now turns out that people are waiting for just such an agreement. They do not want a war at the top. They expect the political leaders to indicate clear and simple rules of the game. They expect politics, which have become opaque, muddled, and sometimes harsh, to be tidied up.

People's temperament and emotion has begun to dominate politics. Unfortunately, it is difficult to shake off the feeling that politics has ceased to be a rational business.

Despite everything, this meeting was a necessary one. It did not achieve any concrete results, but it was a mirror into which the most important protagonists could glance. One hopes they managed to see themselves in it, and that is probably what the meeting's host wanted. The purpose was to dampen hostility and arouse self-criticism. There was no self-criticism at this meeting, but let us hope there will be some later.

This meeting was a necessary one. Tomorrow the Sejm is meeting. It will tear pages out of the calendar. Let us hope that after this meeting, it will do so with greater responsibility and consciousness.

'Anti-Crisis Pact' Debated

AU2109105590 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 19 Sep 90 p 3

[Jerzy Szperkowicz commentary: "A Meeting at the Primate's Residence"]

[Text] Tuesday's meeting shows how badly we need a president who is respected by all, bestowed with our trust, and enjoys full authority. The leading political team should be meeting at the president's residence to reestablish joint cooperation and direction that has been lost. That is what a president is there for, and in particular, to assist our young democratic mechanisms.

The location of Tuesday's meeting is really an appeal to higher instances—instances that are perhaps too high. A previous similar meeting took place in November 1981. Today, we live in a different Poland.

Obviously, it is good that such a meeting is taking place, because other platforms and mechanisms have proved unable to achieve this result. The fact that such a meeting was necessary is a comment on the young nature of our democracy, although it is not the only comment. The fact that there exist conflicts and controversial issues that the course of normal contacts has been unable to resolve is to a large extent the fault of Aleksander Hall's department. In my opinion, his department has not fulfilled its task of maintaining correct and fruitful relations between the key political force of the "Solidarity" trade union led by Lech Walesa, and the government. This was Minister Hall's most important task. The

government had to occupy itself with a thousand other pressing and important matters and it had every right to do so. Not so Minister Hall. The result was that the great political authority and influence of Lech Walesa was not utilized to help in creating democracy, implementing the economic changes, and instead it turned against the government. The government has lost the support of a large number of trade union activists and leaders of other political groups.

The mass media—television, radio, and the press—are also to blame. I would like to know how it was possible that on-site television coverage and the television news programs omitted to show the scene where Mazowiecki and Walesa exchanged the sign of peace at a mass held during Gdansk's anniversary celebrations at the end of August. Walesa was only shown with Jagielski. Thus, the signal that millions of viewers must have registered was that the scene could not be shown. Many days after the event, we were able to see the actual scene full of dignity and warmth in a documentary film. Had the scene been shown at the actual time it would have been a calming and tension-reducing signal.

Learning democracy is difficult and there is not too much time for it. Perhaps the time has come for the independence camp—as I call it—to form an anti-crisis pact. There was no sense in making such a pact with the communists, because their monopoly of power was itself the root of all our crises. If an outline of such a pact arises as a result of today's talks, the talks will have been a success.

Possibility of 'Second Roundtable'

AU2109140490 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 Sep 90 p 2

[Janina Paradowska untitled commentary]

[Text] "The meeting was interesting, although it was not what many people were expecting," said Sejm Marshal Mikolaj Kozakiewicz after the talks at the primate's residence—attended by many prominent politicians—came to an end. The expectations were indeed great and right from the start—it seems—not fully legitimate. Everybody expected agreement on a political timetable, some kind of agreement between the leading political forces from "Solidarity," and a declaration from the present president that he would soon go. The meeting was hailed as "historical" and "without precedent." There was talk of a second "roundtable."

Late Tuesday [18 September] evening we had the often conflicting statements made by politicians and a feeling of disillusion. Could it have been otherwise? I think not. We are witnessing a great political battle where political movements are arising and preparing their programs and candidates for the highest offices of the state. All parties will participate in the elections. No repeat of the "roundtable" is possible, and, in my opinion, no further historical compromises are possible. In any case they are not needed. The electorate will decide who will be president and what the composition of the next parliament will be. This is how it should be.

Not for the first time have we witnessed a great awakening of public hopes only for these hopes to be dashed. The same thing was expected from the Mazowiecki-Walesa meeting and after that meeting had taken place we were treated to an enigmatic communique that did not say a single word about any new national accord. The same has happened at this meeting. The primate, prompted by his concern for the future of the country, provided a forum for the exchange of political views and these were duly exchanged. This does not mean that there was any rapprochement, because the positions of the various groups are well known. At least the positions of the main forces that have evolved from "Solidarity." There could not have been any decisions, because in a democratic state—a state we aspire to—only the Sejm can make decisions. If people counted on an agreement between the "Solidarity" forces, then it seems to me highly improbable that such an agreement could have been reached given the presence of people from the forces of the former order who were invited (it is astonishing to see how many people from the president's entourage were invited). I think that it made such agreement even more difficult. This is also the reason behind such divergent opinions on the meeting subsequently given by the participants. The Sejm's next sitting promises to be all the more interesting, because it will take decisions on its own term and the constitutional amendments that will govern the next presidential elections.

Sejm Parties Discuss Presidential Election

LD2009120290 Warsaw PAP in English 1040 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept 20—According to the draft amendment to Poland's Constitution presented by Henryk Michalak of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club (OKP) the president would be elected by popular vote for the period of five-years (now six years). Speaking on behalf of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club, its chairman Bronislaw Geremek said that the club supported the idea of universal suffrage.

To be elected president, a candidate would have to win absolute support of the electorate, i.e. to win more than 50 per cent of valid votes.

On behalf of the Constitutional Committee, Anna Suchocka (OKP) presented a proposal concerning the proceedings of passing a new constitution. According to it, a new constitution would be passed by the National Assembly by the majority of two-thirds of votes in the presence of at least half of the total number of the Assembly's members. Next, the constitution would be approved in a nation-wide referendum held together with the nearest parliamentary elections.

Walesa Interviewed on 'Dispute' With Government

LD2009145790 Warsaw PAP in English 1258 GMT 20 Sep 90

["Walesa: I Can't Withdraw Unless I'm Forced To"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Sept 20—On the eve of a new political season in Poland, with the parliamentary and presidential elections at hand, Lech Walesa gave an interview to the WARSAW VOICE's editor in chief Andrzej Jonas and deputy editor in chief Slawomir Majman.

Excerpts:

[WARSAW VOICE] What is the nature of your dispute with the presently ruling team?

[Walesa] We have to go back to 1980.

I swore to God and put my faith on the line at least four times that I would do everything in my power to get the twenty-one demands of that August strike realized. And now I ask myself: Which of them has come true by 1990.

Those twenty-one demands could, in fact be divided into two categories: one, bring down the previous system, and two, construct a new one. The second demand will be met and I will feel released of my oath only after we have had free, democratic elections. Some politicians—Mazowiecki, Geremek, Wielowieyski and Michnik—have forgotten about that second component. I have not.

Only that will release all of us, who are referring to Solidarity, of that oath.

I will keep accusing them, history will accuse them, of not taking advantage of the situation on time.

Somebody might ask—Why didn't you take advantage of it? Well, I thought that since so much wisdom had accumulated in the government, in parliament, they would be capable of using the right moments there. The politicians, able minds—not workers.

I caught on in February, maybe March. And when I started talking about acceleration, they made a clown of me. Being true to my principles, and not believing in the wisdom of those people, who proved incapable of taking advantage of the chances and are now giving ridiculous excuses, I came to the conclusion that I would have to stir up some trouble. I'll have to check up on developments, and when the electoral rivalry begins, I'll remind everyone what the prime minister was supposed to have accomplished, what Geremek was supposed to have done and say why they didn't make good on the situation, at the same time undermining the authority I had honestly worked for and achieved.

[WARSAW VOICE] How many days after an electoral victory would you invite Messrs. Mazowiecki, Geremek and Michnik to the Belweder for coffee?

[Walesa] That depends on their positions.

If they keep on breaking up Solidarity, if they fail to see what has to be done in Poland—I might not invite them at all. But if they come to understand what it's all about, and I think they will, we will build Poland together.

There's room for everyone. Everyone, because the worst thing is elimination which turns comrades into enemies. I need the wise ones—Geremek, Mazowiecki and Michnik.

[WARSAW VOICE] To what extent do you follow the opinions of the Catholic Church hierarchy in your political actions?

[Walesa] In question of faith, I am absolutely subordinated to the Church. And in political issues: I can be blunt about what I think with the holy father and the primate. Faith is faith, and politics—politics.

[WARSAW VOICE] What room do you see for yourself if you do not manage to reach for the presidency?

[Walesa] That's improbable.

Only people unsound in their minds can reject me. That's not conceit. My arguments, espoused in public, have to prevail. I'm right in everything.

Spokesman Comments on Walesa Presidency Decision

AU2009110690 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 18 Sep 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Walesa Intends To Run for Presidency"]

[Text] Andrzej Drzycimski, press spokesman of the "Solidarity" chairman, made the following statement shortly after Lech Walesa announced his decision to run for the presidency:

The chairman's decision is a political decision. We consider that the era of the "roundtable" has now come to an end. We need to accelerate the whole, and quite proper, process that was begun at that time. Those solutions were correct for that time, but we now face new tasks that oblige us to tackle them. The fact that they have not been tackled, signifies that we have come to a stop. The chairman believes that his decision can accelerate the process and this acceleration is also to make people aware of the need for greater participation in the process about to begin. Without economic, political, and social progress there is no possibility of bringing about changes in Poland. Our common home must be a home in which everyone participates. Not just politicians or the wider elites, but the whole of society. That is the main aim of our decision that comes on the eve of the Sejm debates.

Military's 'Apolitical' Character Affirmed

AU2009173790 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ in Polish 13 Sep 90 pp 1, 3

[Lieutenant Colonel Tadeusz Mitek article: "Poland Is Something Greater...."]

[Excerpts] We are undoubtedly on the point of entering a period of intensive activity in politics. In the next few months, we will see presidential and parliamentary election campaigns, and the adoption of a different constitution. Political forces are becoming polarized, and new groupings, advocating alternative or even opposition programs, are emerging. Newspaper columns abound with political speculation. One can palpably sense a quickening of the pace of politics in Poland.

We in the military say that we are and want to be apolitical. Is that possible or probable? That is not a question that can be settled at this juncture. The military is only just beginning to assume the form of an apolitical state institution, and it will do so in tandem with the formation of a fully democratic state system and alongside the development of parliamentary mechanisms and multiparty structures. It is more a question of cultivating a civic understanding of what being apolitical means on the part of people who are serving in the military and do not participate in the party activities, but, being citizens, do, of course, have attitudes toward what is happening in the country, their own opinions, and criteria by which they assess things. [passage omitted]

It would be a gross oversimplification to apply pertinent, but very general ideas to current political events. After all, there is no specter of imprisonment hanging over what occurs in politics—that is a fundamental difference. However, I believe that we should maintain a certain distance vis-a-vis the current political situation, a distance that stems from the belief that Poland will always be something greater than what it might appear to be to us at this particular point in time, than what today's government or opposition might think.

This may seem to contain a strong element of pathos, but it is, at the same time, an appeal for reason and level-headedness in politics and for prudence in thinking about the future of the state.

Army Daily Examines Army's Future, Restructuring

AU2009132290 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ in Polish 14-16 Sep 90 pp 4, 5

[Colonel Michal Glinski article: "Toward a Real and Imagined Future"]

[Text] The question of restructuring the Polish Army has been raising more emotions recently, which is understandable in view of the fast changes to the international situation, especially in the central and eastern parts of Europe. Various demands, frequently contradictory, are being voiced as a result of doubts in people's minds. They include a radical call to discontinue all work on restructuring our Armed Forces.

While I understand these attitudes, sometimes dictated by a noble concern for the future of our Army, I nevertheless oppose the idea of "throwing the baby out with the bath water." I think the restructuring should continue, but in a more comprehensive and planned way, on the basis of comprehensive analyses of the realities of today and tomorrow. At the same time, this work should involve not only military experts, but also people from other fields such as science and politics.

What should be the point of departure for this work? There is no doubt in my mind that it should begin with a careful examination of our defense in general, and our Armed Forces in particular. The new conditions outside and inside Poland are making it essential to review defense principles in order to see whether they still apply to the present and future political-military situation in Europe.

It is clear that in the complicated and, in many respects, uncertain situation in our neighboring countries, and with Poland's present economic condition, it will not be easy to produce a report that accurately reflects the current status of our defense capability and Armed Forces. Nevertheless, the production of such a report is essential in order to lay down new principles of defense policy; work out our own defense doctrine together with suitable strategy and tactics, and rebuild the Army in a rational way.

Although one can already detect certain elements of the new defense policy in the statements made by the premier, foreign minister, and national defense minister, these elements do not provide sufficient guidelines for restructuring our defense system and Armed Forces. The statement whereby "a sovereign, independent, and democratic Poland needs a strong, well-equipped, and well- trained Army" merely expresses the general objective. It does not define the ways and means with which to achieve it, which is a fundamental matter given the state of our economy. For those milieus concerned with defense issues, it is no secret that over the past 15 years, defense spending has been continuously reduced due to the consistent decrease in the national income and the increase in prices and inflation. As a result, the technological gap between the Polish Army on the one hand and the Western armies; as well as the armies from the remaining Warsaw Pact countries on the other, has widened.

It is all too clear that modernizing an army requires a supply of suitable technology, which has to be purchased abroad because it cannot be produced in this country. The only problem is where to buy it. Obviously, this is something that calls for appropriate government decisions, because it is linked to various political consequences. Against this background, one cannot ignore the

fact that most of our Army's combat technology comes from the Soviet Union. Therefore, an eventual replacement of this technology with Western technology would require a considerable outlay, mainly in convertible currency, not to mention a lot of time. In the meantime, our high and ever-growing foreign debts mean that we will not obtain this technology for a long time, neither from the West nor from CEMA countries.

Therefore, it is obvious that it will not be possible to modernize our Army over the next few years, which means that until such time as our economy is in order, we must tidy up our Army on the basis of the equipment we already have, even if it is antiquated, for there is no need to explain, and the experience of many wars proves it, that it is sometimes better to have an Army that has out-of-date equipment but is well-trained, than one that has modern equipment.

Therefore, I think that the scrapping of some types of equipment and military schemes has been premature, or at least inadequately considered. I also think that the very modest funds that have been allocated for the purchase of equipment should be concentrated on selected areas of defense, in line with the new defense principles.

Statements like "there is no danger from the West" or "the Polish Army will only fight on its home ground" have different meanings, not always political or military. The first one leads straight to the conclusion that our western border will be completely safe after German unification, and suggests that one should look out for danger from the other side.

Perhaps it is a little hasty of me to admit such a thought, but there is a certain justification. As soon as the conditions for German unification became favorable, Polish diplomacy justifiably began energetic efforts to secure guarantees for the inviolability of our western border, without undertaking any action, or at least any official action, to secure similar guarantees concerning the eastern border, which is also a product of the Yalta and Potsdam accords. Given the present nationalist trends, especially the very tangible trends in the Ukraine and Lithuania, can we be sure that our eastern border will never be questioned? We are already coming across maps of "Great Lithuania" which include the Suwalki region, or maps of "Great Ukraine" where the border reaches as far as Nowy Sacz.

Against the background of the above statements, the following excerpt of the national defense minister's interview for GAZETA WYBORCZA on 9 August 1990 sounds very significant: "If war breaks out and our country is drawn into it, we will do our duty, regardless of who we have to fight." However, these words do not rule out danger from any quarter and; therefore, we have been too hasty in making organizational changes to units stationed in eastern Poland.

The idea that "the Polish Army will only fight on its home ground" has also found followers recently. It is worth paying closer attention to it because it contains the essence of the new defense philosophy. The essence of this philosophy is that it is a sovereign and defensive policy, a departure from the basic principle of warfare whereby offense is the best defense. It means that the new defense system should permit an effective deterence of the enemy without entering his territory.

But, from a military point of view, this philosophy might raise a few doubts because it demands the fulfillment of many essential, but not always possible, conditions, the chief ones being a sovereign formulation and implementation of one's own defense policy—not just in times of peace, but also in times of war. The point is that in Poland's specific geopolitical situation and with the country's economic potential, it is difficult to imagine us being able to wage our own local war with any of our neighbors. Any armed conflict in the middle of Europe without Poland's willing or unwilling involvement seems impossible.

So in what way can we express our independence in our defense policy? I think we should make our own decisions concerning the following problems: first, whether to remain in a close military alliance with the Soviet Union, according to new principles of course, or whether to join NATO, which can only occur if the NATO countries agree, and that is hardly likely as long as Soviet troops remain stationed in the united Germany. Second, whether to base actions on our own national resources and capabilities, which is very costly and inefficient, apart from which it involves a certain dependence on the suppliers of military equipment. Of course, each of these decisions involves political and military consequences, because they could affect the balance of forces in Europe, and hence security in this region.

So it seems to me that, without paying too much attention to political consequences (which would be the responsibility of the team working on the defense policy report), we do not have too much maneuvering space in which to establish an independent defense policy as long as NATO and the Warsaw Pact exist, or as long as they retain their present character. That is the external and domestic reality, and a failure to consider the reality would be nothing but a pitiful "rattling of swords," leading to incalculable consequences for Poland.

Another essential prerequisite for implementing the aforementioned philosophy is the possession of a defense system based on extensive social participation, in accordance with the maxim "let every threshold be our fortress." That means a close coordination of armed force activity with civil defense which, apart from rescue teams, should also consist of suitably equipped and trained units capable of fighting side by side with regular troops, as well as undertaking sabotage and partisan activity at the enemy's rear. The Armed Forces must also be ready for such a scenario.

What conclusion stems from the above reflections? The general conclusion is that in the present international

military and political situation, one cannot undertake a partial military restructuring. One has to undertake comprehensive work on a thorough change to the entire system of state defense. Another conclusion is that without a strong economy, any steps to modernize our Army will be difficult, if not impossible.

Therefore, it seems to me that until the above-mentioned report on a defense system has been worked out, we must train the Army and the military staffs effectively but economically, and make rational use of the military technology that we have.

Preparations for Third TV Channel Continue

LD2009163790 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Work on preparations for a third television channel is continuing. It is to come into existence in nine towns as a local commercial channel. Limited companies will be set up to run this channel. Warsaw is the most advanced in its work. The controlling share-holding belongs to the television. The remainder is being sought by many willing buyers. The minimum investment is 1 billion zloties.

The channel will broadcast for 20 hours a day. Two hours will be filled with original productions, the rest from tape-libraries and satellite. Profits will come from advertizing.

Possible Deployment of Military Troops to Gulf

LD2109092290 Warsaw PAP in English 0855 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 21—The ZYCIE WARSZAWY reported today on the possible presence of Polish soldiers in the Gulf:

"As we have found out from circles associated with the American Department of State and the Ministry of Defence, a possibility is being reviewed of sending a small symbolic group of Polish soldiers to the Persian Gulf. They would operate within the framework of the multi-national forces overseeing the military blockade of Iraq.

"Asked whether these reports are true, Polish Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Jan Majewski stated: I cannot say anything on this matter."

NATO's Woerner Ends Visit; Outcome Viewed

AU1909113190 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ in Polish 17 Sep 90 pp 1, 2

[Marek Jurkowski report: "M. Woerner Has Left Poland"]

[Text] The unprecedented visit to Poland by NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner, the first of its kind in the 41 years of NATO's existence, is a symbol of the changes that have occurred not only in Poland, but throughout Europe. At the same time, it has confirmed that the permanent contacts which Warsaw established with NATO in August are being filled with essential dialogue.

Arriving at the invitation of Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, Manfred Woerner met and spoke to our country's leaders: President Wojciech Jaruzelski, Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, deputies and senators from our parliament, National Defense Minister Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk, and "Solidarity" chairman Lech Walesa. Naturally, he also held business talks with the foreign minister.

In every meeting, the guest emphasized the fact that his visit to our country is the best possible proof that the cold war is a thing of the past and that the old confrontation ought to be converted into cooperation. Obviously, this visit would have been impossible several years ago on account of the treaties and climate in force. The meetings with today's personalities would also have been unthinkable. For there is a common platform of dialogue for the sake of a peaceful and safe Europe and every country in it, including Poland.

The talks in Poland also showed that creating a climate of security in Europe is impossible without cooperation with NATO. This cooperation is becoming easier after the visit, because each side was able to express its views in an open and frank manner, as Minister Skubiszewski said, and present and discuss the continent's most vital problems, including Poland's relations with NATO. This certainly permits better understanding and joint activity with a view to the future. In any case, M. Woerner invited Prime Minister Mazowiecki to address the NATO Council and Admiral P. Kolodziejczyk to pay a visit to the NATO headquarters in Brussels. This is not mere courtesy, but an addition of substance to the contacts that have been made.

There were no talks in a strict military sense, about specific military issues, for the simple reason that the position of NATO secretary general is a purely political one, and Manfred Woerner came to Poland as a politician, not as a soldier, even though he is head of an alliance that possesses a military countenance. But the military aspect of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact is receding more and more clearly. It is true that there was an essential exchange of views about the role of both pacts in a changing Europe, but it did not take place within the framework of two old "enemies," but within the framework of a joint search by both institutions to level their differences and cooperate peacefully for the benefit of all countries.

Asked by journalists and others for his opinion on the fate of the Warsaw Pact, the NATO secretary general replied that "the future of the Warsaw Pact depends on its members. If a free decision about its future is taken, NATO will accept the decision."

In view of the fact that economic issues were also discussed, though not to the same degree as with the EEC, one can say that the visit was a necessary and fruitful one. After all, NATO and other Western institutions form the bridgehead that links us to a common Europe. That is why an exchange of information and proposals concerning further contacts is so important. It is important to possess better mutual understanding via the dialogue that has already commenced. And because this has been a top-level dialogue, let us hope it will be beneficial.

Foreign Policy, NATO Relations Reassessed

AU1909064390 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 14 Sep 90 p 5

[Jan Rylukowski commentary: "New Challenges, Old Answers—A Repertoire of Polish Foreign Policy"]

[Text] Polish policy toward the Warsaw Pact and NATO should be subordinated to Polish raison d'etat and this necessitates Polish rapprochement and integration with Western Europe.

Official pronouncements made by Polish politicians emphasize the fact that the Warsaw Pact can play a stabilizing role in Central and Eastern Europe for some time to come and be a useful instrument in elaborating a framework for a future European security system. It is also asserted that a complete disintegration of the Warsaw Pact would create a dangerous void in our region and might produce negative repercussions for Gorbachev's policies, because of the possible reaction of conservative forces in the Soviet Army. Poland, by declaring that it will not artificially seek to prolong the life of the Warsaw Pact, has de facto become involved in attempts to restructure it. This might be interpreted as Poland seeing a future role for a modified Warsaw Pact in our region, at least as a consultative forum for its member states. If this assumption is wrong, why is Poland wasting its energy and resources defending something which is about to die a natural death?

Let us analyze whether the Warsaw Pact is still a guarantee for Poland in the event armed conflict breaks out in Europe. First, with the end of the bloc divisions, the military factor as an instrument for solving disputes on our continent is slowly losing its significance. Second, if we imagine this hypothetical situation it will be our eastern borders that will come under threat (from young, expansionist nationalisms or the supporters of the "hard line" in the Soviet Union) and in this respect our Warsaw Pact membership will be of no help to us. In the most pessimistic scenario this might even work to our disadvantage.

Given that the Warsaw Pact has ceased to be useful to our defense needs, Poland's continuing membership can only be interpreted through fear of Soviet destabilization and Gorbachev's loss of influence. Such an argument should be rejected for two reasons. First, it demonstrates thinking that pervaded the Brezhnev doctrine period, when Polish interests were subordinated to our neighbor's superpower interests. At present, given that there is so much talk of regaining full sovereignty, no Polish politician can hope to be credible if he is not guided by Polish national interests. These should put our security needs first and foremost and then take into account the essential interests of our neighboring or allied states. It is impermissible to reverse this hierarchy of priorities.

Second, it is not true that negotiating Polish withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact would erode the security of the Soviet Union and weaken Gorbachev's team. If that team showed it was able to suppress its reservations about a reunited Germany becoming a NATO member without weakening its own position—on the contrary, strengthening it—then negotiating Poland's wish to leave the Warsaw Pact should be an even lesser problem for it. What is more, a Western military presence in Poland in specific circumstances might be desirable from Soviet security interests and be a guarantee of stability in Poland and the whole region.

Poland's continuing membership of the Warsaw Pact increases the contrast and chasm between the creation of political, economic, and social structures that measure up to the standard of Western European integration and the infrastructure and military doctrine that tie us to the Soviet Union. This illogicality, a relic of the bloc system and Poland's place in the so-called Socialist community should be eliminated as soon as possible, because it is a factor that is delaying—if not actually blocking—our efforts to be included in the process of Western European integration.

Poland and NATO

The key argument of Polish official policy that lies behind Poland's coolness toward NATO is the argument that NATO and the Warsaw Pact will gradually evolve to create a system of collective security in Europe based on, for example, the institutionalization of the CSCE process. This approach, postulating the possibility of preserving a certain symmetry between the two alliances until they are both subsumed into the new security system, ignored the fundamental fact that the cold war has ended with a defeat for the communist bloc and a victory for the West. Thus, in the face of the actual disintegration of the Warsaw Pact, asking Western countries to begin a voluntary dismantling of NATO, was not only naive, but absurd. However, the position—in a much attenuated form—that the Soviet Union took on this issue found ready support among some political forces in Poland.

The Americans paid a great price for their isolationism after World War I and at present are adamant about maintaining their individual link with Europe. Together with the European Community, Bush's administration wants to prevent a possible European destabilization by creating a stable framework for the changes happening on our continent.

That is why the United States has from the very start, unambiguously and determinedly supported the right of the Germans to unite and did not share the initial misgivings felt in London and Paris. Bush's and Baker's administration made their support for a reunified Germany conditional on Germany recognizing the border on the Odra and Nysa Rivers [Oder-Neisse] and the inclusion of a reunited Germany in NATO as a fundamental factor of tying Germany into Western Europe. Today, we know that both conditions have been fulfilled. NATO is a very valuable instrument and the West will not abandon it for two reasons. First, it provides a surety in the event that reforms in Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union fail, and second, it is a bridge that links the United States to Europe, at least until such time as another institutional security structure arises.

This brings us to the next dilemma of Polish foreign policy, namely, the problem of how and on what the European collective security system is to be built. Until now, it was thought that the main element of such a system would be the institutionalization of the CSCE process. The Warsaw Pact and NATO negotiations and other regional agreements would only play an ancillary role.

I consider this unrealistic, because it ignores the true alignment of forces on our continent. At present, only NATO has the political structures and the cooperative mechanisms of its member states to form a starting point for a future all-European security system. Apart from this, the institutionalization of the CSCE process has to be seen in terms of years, because each one of the 35 countries that are participating in CSCE will try to advance its own conceptions. Given that individual states are bound to have wide divergences this could prove to be task that cannot be accomplished in the foreseeable future.

Time is a commodity that Europe does not have. The speed and nature of changes that are taking place on our continent demand an immediate introduction of mediation and control mechanisms. NATO can fulfill that function by gradually pulling the countries of Eastern and Central Europe as well as the Soviet Union into its orbit.

Thus, if Poland's essential interests require integration into Western Europe, and NATO is seen as one of the crucial elements of its political structure that will also form the framework for its future collective security system, then it becomes incomprehensible why Poland is so guarded about approaching NATO and changing its foreign policy toward it. Let us be honest, all roads to Western Europe must also lead through Brussels.

When we talk of NATO we are also talking of U.S. policy in Europe and its various priorities. It is now unquestionable that Germany has become America's main NATO partner. One just has to accept the fact. However, this does not mean that Poland cannot count on stronger U.S. support for Polish interests. The United States is interested in our region making a peaceful transition to a Western democratic system. However, this cannot happen at the cost of U.S. strategic interests and on our continent these are still concentrated on maintaining relations with the Soviet Union which is the world's second nuclear power, and with Germany, now America's main NATO partner. If Poland adopted a policy that sought to antagonize relations with either of our two neighbors, Poland could not count on securing Washington's support.

The presence of a sizeable Polish minority in the United States could increase Poland's role in U.S. foreign policy. Certainly a much greater role than would appear from Poland's economic and demographic potential. An example of this is U.S. policy toward Greece and Turkey, which is strongly shaped by a powerful Greek lobby in the United States.

In principle, one can say that there exist as yet unutilized possibilities to secure U.S. support for our interests. This stems from the nature of the U.S. involvement in Europe, as well as NATO's aims. These are no longer related to the possibility of conflict with the communist camp, but are now focused on gradually drawing Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union into the Western orbit. Vigorous Polish diplomatic activity in this direction could open up additional possibilities and channels of integration with Western Europe, and at the same time, increase Polish security.

Gorbachev Aide Comments on Balcerowicz Policy

AU1909075790 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish (Economy and Law Supplement) in Polish 14 Sep 90 p 1

[Statement by Nikolay Petrakov, economic adviser to USSR President Gorbachev, to Waldmear Gontarski in Moscow, date not given: "What Does Gorbachev Think of Balcerowicz?"; first paragraph is RZECZPOSPOLITA introduction]

[Text] "What does Gorbachev think of Balcerowicz?" That was the question that RZECZPOSPOLITA put to Nikolay Petrakov, economic adviser to the USSR president.

[Petrakov] "The road taken by Mazowiecki and Balcerowicz involves a sharp reduction in the amount of money in circulation and a sharp increase in prices. This is a very interesting program and an effective one, I hope. But it is exclusive to Poland. I will explain why it cannot be implemented in the USSR. The first reason is that the psychology of Poles is far better suited to market principles than that of Soviet people. Over 70 years, Soviet people have become used to thinking in nonmarket terms. As a result, whereas Poles tolerate high prices better than they do empty shop shelves, our citizens prefer to stand in line, especially during working hours. There are many other reasons. In your country there has always been a very large private sector, especially in agriculture. We do not have one. Apart from

that, Polish society accepted price increases before the Balcerowicz plan came into effect.

"Gorbachev wants to avoid inflation. He does not want to repeat Rakowski's mistake of offsetting price rises by issuing money that is not backed by goods. In a word, he does not want Soviet society to face price increases, because Soviet society will not tolerate them. Nevertheless, Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov is heading straight toward Rakowski's mistake. But at the same time, the USSR president rejects the Balcerowicz path. So what will he choose? He has selected the philosophy represented by the Professor Stanislav Shatalin group. I should explain that this is not just another group of experts; it is a legalized body of opposition vis-a-vis Ryzhkov. Following his meeting with Boris Yeltsin, Gorbachev formally decided to appoint this group, formally charged with working out an alternative economic program. More than that, before this program, written by the Shatalin group last August, was actually submitted, the president carefully read the text and made his own corrections to it. Finally, this program, plus the government program, plus two other suggestions for developing the economy, were distributed to the republics on 12 September."

Petrakov had this to say about the Shatalin program at a news conference on Thursday: "We think prices are the product of the quantity of goods on the market and the quantity of money in circulation. If we stabilize incomes, in other words the quantity of money in circulation, e.g. by selling shares, houses, and small enterprises, then even with the same quantity of goods in circulation prices will not rise. And if we fail to stabilize prices, price increases will occur, which is what the government program suggests. On the other hand, if consumers have no money, they will not pay high prices, and it will be necessary to reduce them."

The republican parliaments, as well as the USSR Supreme Soviet, have been presented with four programs to choose from. The Russian deputies have already officially decided to adopt the Shatalin program. It will probably be the same in the other republics, because when the program was drafted the Estonian deputy was the only one who did not sign his name beneath the final version. And this document calls for the creation of a united "economic sphere" based on a single currency, banking system, and taxation system. But if any republic does not like this idea, it may implement only a few all-union programs, such as ecological ones. But that republic will then be treated as a separate state or an associate member of the union, with reduced rights and privileges.

Nicu Ceausescu Sentenced to 20-Year Imprisonment

AU2109112790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1102 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 21/9/1990—On the basis of a verdict given Friday 21 September, the Bucharest Military Tribunal sentenced Nicu Ceausescu, ex-first secretary of Sibiu County and a member of the ex-party leadership, to twenty years in jail. He will be deprived of citizen's rights for ten years after serving his jail sentence and was stripped of military rank for instigating to aggravated murder.

Further on Communist Party Leaders' Trial

David, Radu, Szasz Testify

AU2009112390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0955 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 20/9/1990—The trial of former members of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Executive Political Committee [EPC] was resumed at the Bucharest Military Court yesterday 19 September. The defendants are charged with genocide in the bloody repression of the December 1989 revolution for their part in carrying out the Executive Political Committee's decisions of 17 and 22 December.

With only Gheorghe David, Constantin Radu and Iosif Szasz called to testify in court during yesterday's session, several counsels for the defence asked for a postponement until all the accused could sit in the box.

The court dismissed the request ruling that the judicial investigation which started on 17 September could proceed and that the defendants could learn in court what each of them had told it.

Defendant Constantin Radu, ex-secretary of the CC of the RCP for cadre policies, who attended the 17 December 1989 meeting of the Executive Political Committee as a guest, was charged to have approved, along the other EPC members, the measures to use fire arms to repress a peaceful demonstration in Timisoara.

In the morning of 21 December 1989, the accused travelled to the western city of Arad, on the orders of the late dictator and his wife, to join a command force at the county party committee's headquarters where a plan was made to end the demonstration against dictatorship, for better living conditions, democracy and liberty in a bloodbath.

During the hearing, the defendant dismissed the charges saying about his role in the EPC meeting, that from what Ceausescu had told it, measures were due in Timisoara against hooligans who ransacked shops, state institutions, military units and who were used by hostile elements abroad. On his activity at Arad, he said, as soon as he arrived there he supported the rightful claims of the protesters and asked that force be not used against them.

Asked to explain several disagreements between the substance of his statements in the course of the criminal investigations on the basis of which the indictment was made, and those he made in court, the defendant showed that the latter were true and the many things that he did not say during the inquiry were written down and attributed to him.

Next to testify was defendant Iosif Szasz, ex-non-voting member of the Executive Political Committee and secretary of the CC of the RCP who also took part in the 17 December 1989 meeting of the Executive Political Committee. He denied his part in genocide through his presence at the meeting that decided to put down the revolution in Timisoara, since Nicolae Ceausescu had purposefully given a distorted image of the situation there to make it inferrable that an attack on the country was planned by foreign forces, which required steps to defend national sovereignty and independence.

In his defence, the accused said that he had travelled to Resita seat of Caras-Severin County whose secretary he had been until November 1989 where on 18-20 December 1989 he had taken action for a good operation of local economic units, that he had joined civic protests against the dictator when they broke out on 21 December, that the had addressed the meetings and assured the demonstrators that no action would be taken against them and that he had cooperated with the National Salvation Front's county bodies.

The trial was adjourned until 20 September, 9.30 hrs a.m. when defendant Gheorghe David would be heard.

Trial Continues 20 Sep

AU2009205890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1912 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/9/1990—The trial of the former members of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee the Romanian Communist Party, charged with genocide, continued on September 20 with the examination of defendant David Gheorghe who was minister of agriculture until December 22, 1989.

Sticking to his statement made during penal prosecution, the defendant told about the unfolding of the December 17, 1989 meeting of the Executive Political committee. He pleaded not guilty and rejected the accusations in the bill of indictment, showing that at that time he had not known the real situation in Timisoara which the dictator had blamed on groups of hooligans who, with the assistance of foreign elements, both from the West and from the East, has wanted the maiming of the country's independence and sovereignty. Learning the day after what had been the truth, he had refused, although insistently summoned, to participate both in the

December 21 rally and in the December 22 meeting of the Executive Political Committee.

Second Part To Begin 25 Sep

AU2009205990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1849 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/9/1990—The first part of the trial of ex-secretaries of the former Romanian Communist Party Committee of the Brasov County: Petre Preoteasa, Gheorghe Dogaru, Maria Cebuc, Elena Schuster, Ioan Furcoiu came to an end at Brasov County's Tribunal. 103 witnesses of the prosecution and the defence were heard, Mihai Gere, former head of the Communist Party's Central Husbandry Administration included. The proper debates of the trial will start on Tuesday, September 25, 1990.

Report on 20 Sep Senate Session

AU2009201790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1926 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/9/1990—Romania's Senate resumed its works on Thursday morning, with general reports and assessments of speciality commissions, followed by talks, after which the senators approved another two bills, such as the one referring to the extension of Article 37 of Decree 281/1954 on the lawyer's profession in Romania, republished on March 6, 1958, with subsequent modifications, and the bill initiated by a group of senators to amend the decree 251/1987 on pensions and other social security rights for the lawyers.

It is worthy of note that the Parliament passed the membership and leadership of the first Romania-France Parliamentary Friendship Group.

Its elected president is Senator Romulus Vulpescu, well known writer and French language translator, vice-presidents are Academician Caius Iacob, mathematician of repute, and Senator Radu Campeanu, one of the four vice-presidents of the Senate.

Representatives of the executive power gave argumented explanations of some of the issues that are cause of concern for the Romanian society after the December '89 revolution.

Speaking about Romanian education, about certain abberant situations persisting from the period immediately after the revolution, the minister of education and science sadly emphasized that a number of cultural issues had turned into political ones and made an appeal to reason, to the observance of the laws in force in the system of training.

The state minister for the quality of life and social security announced that 69,957 high school graduates are reported unemployed at labor force bureaus. The total number of unemployed being now higher than 100,000. It was told that in the 4th quarter of this year jobs will be offered in ready made and leather industry and in mining, which will be able to take in part of the labor force. On the other hand, the unemployment bill will soon be submitted to the parliament.

The Senate works will be resumed on September 26.

Deputies' Assembly Discusses Bills 20 Sep

AU2009201890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1924 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/9/1990—The Romanian Assembly of Deputies endorsed on September 20 with 12 abstentions the bill of commercial societies and started debating the bill of transfer of the general penitentiary department from the Ministry of the Interior to the Ministry of Justice.

Questioning time followed for representatives of the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Education and Science. In the focus were questions related to the situation of the former Securitate workers, the execution of the 1990 state budget, the organization and unfolding of the contest for the admission to the post-secondary education in some localities in Transylvania as well as the funds and property of the former Romanian Communist Party.

The Assembly of Deputies will resume works in commissions on Monday.

Iliescu Interviewed on Personal Views, Other Issues

AU2109093390 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 18 Sep 90 p 3

[Interview with President Ion Iliescu by Carmen Firan; place and date not given: "Beyond the Position of President—A Talk With Mr. Ion Iliescu"; first paragraph is DIMINEATA introduction]

[Text] A thirst for power has always been alien to me. Generally speaking, life has not been too generous to me. Any statesman is—in the final analysis—a man. Sometimes I have adopted decisions under pressure of time. Many negative things could perhaps have been avoided. Some people underrate me, others overrate me. We are all people of the time in which we live. Let us maintain our decency and...sense of humor. Perhaps I am less free now than ever before.

[Firan] Mr. Ion Iliescu, did you ever think before 22 December 1989 that you might become president of Romania?

[Iliescu] I never thought of such a thing! Despite speculations and thriller-type stories which try to promote the idea of a "plot" and "conspiracy" which "confiscated" the December revolution—simplistic ideas which do not correspond to historic reality prompted only by the desire to discredit me—I never had any intention of becoming a "conspirator." Thirst for power was always

alien to me; I have always firmly opposed arbitrary manifestations and abuse of power. The fact that, under such complicated circumstances, the task assigned to me to participate in establishing the new provisional power generated by the December revolution, and then to be elected as the country's president, is not grounds for satisfaction, but rather a heavy burden. I accepted this task, however, as a mandate and a sign of trust on the part of a great majority of the sorely tried citizens of our country. It obliges me to make every effort to overcome all difficulties of this period of tension in order to honor this trust.

[Firan] In your opinion, what is the basic characteristic of a politician?

[Iliescu] A sense of proportion. Realism. Receptiveness. A communicative nature. The desire for dialogue and a tendency toward tolerance. I believe that all these are fundamental features. They have to coexist, blend, and complete each other.

[Firan] Mr. Ion Iliescu, do you view yourself as a lucky person?

[Iliescu] I could not say.... Generally speaking, life has not been too generous to me. Ever since my childhood I have constantly been faced with difficulties and all sorts of hardships.

[Firan] In the past years—before the revolution—when you were director of the Technical Publishing House, you were viewed as a person condemned to live under surveillance and unable to have his say; even so, you possessed the courage to brave the dictatorship.... Numerous academicians, writers, men of culture, and dissidents of the former regime used to visit you and offer their books; they asked you for advice and they found support and understanding. Your office in the Technical Publishing House was a sort of place of pilgrimage for the opposition to the regime and for elite intellectuals. Meeting with you was a pleasure and a sign of shared resistance. You were a legend of the intelligentsia; most of the ordinary people did not know you and many people did not even know your name. Now there seems to be a strange reverse. Some of the people who used to appreciate you tremendously now oppose you, sometimes fiercely. How do you explain this phenomenon?

[Iliescu] First, I do not believe that everything you have said is exactly true. I think that your assessment is much exaggerated. On the other hand, I did not limit my relations only to intellectuals. Numerous ordinary people also knew me, because throughout the years I worked in many sectors of activity, in several counties; I traveled through the country a great deal and I had contact with a great number of varied people. True, I had numerous acquaintances and contacts with many intellectuals in the main university centers and with several representatives of the technical intellectuals, as well as with writers and artists. There are many reasons for the change of attitude of some intellectuals, especially writers. I do not rule out having been responsible for shortfalls, mistakes or awkward moves, but I believe that that is especially due to the complexity of our political life and to the polarization of attitudes and political options—a certain type of intellectual usually takes an attitude of defiance toward power (something that is actually positive to a certain extent). My association with power is the cause of aversion—which, I believe, is not always motivated. There are, of course, also people with precise political options determined by multiple reasons and interests which definitely place them on hostile positions. These people are probably beyond retrieve. In turn, the dissatisfied pride of others has turned them into fierce "opponents." In any case, it is not I who has changed his civic and intellectual position—which, in the past, was reason for appreciation and friendship on the part of those who today take a hostile attitude!

[Firan] Mr. Ion Iliescu what give you greatest pleasure just now? What makes you most sad?

[Iliescu] Having experienced the privations imposed by a totalitarian regime of the worst kind, my greatest pleasure has been the overthrow of the dictatorship and the opening of our society to democratic development and intellectual renewal. What makes me the most sad is the difficulties—some unexpectedly serious—with which we are confronted at the level of human relations. Of greater concern than the economic crisis we are facing, is the moral crisis in our society with its unforeseeable effects and implications leading to dramatic tension in human relations, which often acquire most serious aspects: Loss of trust and respect among people; persistence of obsessions; constant suspicion and reticence, slanders, denigration, and a whole psychological complex leading to moral degradation, irascibility, unchecked actions; violence, and antisocial attitudes. From this point of view, a special mission and responsibility rests on the intellectuals, namely the moral improvement of our society by consciously getting involved in the democratic transformation process.

[Firan] Mr. Ion Iliescu, you are an intellectual with a technical qualification, a specialist. How many of your engineering qualities can you use?

[Iliescu] Actually, I do not have time even to think of my former engineering activity. The complexity, seriousness, and importance of the problems with which I am faced place completely different tasks on me. I am trying to help find ways to solve problems by making use of my technical experience and everything I learned during my years of study and social practice. We have to employ all our capabilities, specialists, intellectuals, and creative values to overcome this big economic, political, and moral crisis we are confronted with. We need a great degree of balance and a high level of civic awareness. All positive renewing forces have to unite in a common effort to achieve a fundamental transformation at all levels of social, economic, and intellectual life. This calls for great efforts, unity, and the harnessing of our whole creative potential in order to overcome rigid structures,

narrow-minded mentalities, and petty interests for the benefit of the national commandment of radically turning Romania into a democratic, free, and prosperous country. These are not mere words, but major objectives of struggle which require sacrifice and dedication.

[Firan] What are your strong interests.?

[Iliescu] I have had many strong interests. I am a sensitive man and during certain times of my life I became infatuated with various areas. Reading is one of my constant interests.

[Firan] What are your preferences in reading?

[Iliescu] Social-political literature, memoirs, economic technical-scientific treatises, and, when I have time, literature.

[Firan] Do you believe in fate?

[Iliescu] I do not believe in destiny as a fatality because destiny is not only the result of objective factors; I believe that one's own destiny is also determined by individual efforts. The historic juncture—favorable or unfavorable—is blended with the way in which the individual gets involved in social processes. Yet, I think that there is probably a side in each individual that can be influenced, altered, and molded by a set of subjective factors. Alongside the fatalist notion "each with his own destiny!" there is also the notion: "Each one forges his own destiny."

[Firan] Do you think that the mistake of a statesman should be covered up? Do you believe that admitting a mistake means weakness?

[Iliescu] Any statesman is, in the final analysis, a man. We should not believe he is perfect, because perfect people do not exist. Neither mistakes nor weakness should be covered up. The political area is complicated and sometimes delicate; mistakes are inherent; both the reasons and conditions under which mistakes are made are of great importance. To admit them does not mean weakness; they have to be admitted. A politician is constantly subjected to special assessments and he has to win credibility. Often, however, truth seems unlikely.

[Firan] Do you believe that prestige is a virtue or a defect?

[Iliescu] I consider it a handicap.

[Firan] Do you regret any of your conduct or actions after 22 December and up to now?

[Iliescu] Many, beginning with 12 January. I have had both moments of weakness and impulsive actions.

[Firan] If it was 22 December again, what would you avoid? What would you repeat?

[Iliescu] It is not easy to reply to such a question. A profound analysis of the complex events and factors would be necessary. We would probably take different measures in many instances; we would take better action if we were able to turn back the clock. We have worked under pressure during this period; sometimes we adopted decisions under the pressure of time and under conditions of hostile and destabilizing actions. The tragic economic and social situation inherited, which requires reasoning and balance, as well as well-thought-out and effective solutions—which can be adopted only in an atmosphere of peace and confidence—were compounded by street actions of irresponsible individuals, who were indifferent to the situation of our country, as well as accompanied by waves of hatred and aggression. This hampered the normal development of things, a fact that was an impediment in our work. Many negative things could perhaps have been avoided. Part of the blame falls on us. I believe, however, that we have embarked on a correct and irreversible road—democracy.

[Firan] Has any great political, scientific, or cultural personality in the history of mankind ever fascinated you?

[Iliescu] The word fascinated is not the right word. I have never been the slave of a certain model. I have, however, followed with interest the lives of historic figures and I was attracted to noteworthy thinkers of ancient times and the Renaissance; I was attracted to the French encyclopedists, the great creators of art—the great figures who paved the way for science and technical and artistic creativity, great politicians, and to our own great figures such as Balcescu, Kogalniceanu, and Eminescu; I have read a great deal of history and numerous memoirs, to link up with your previous question. I do not believe that one should be influenced by a particular person, but just draw on the biography, creativity, and the striking features and basic elements that made those figures stand out in history.

[Firan] Do you believe that you are a man of this time? If not, then in what period would you have liked to live?

[Iliescu] We are all people of the time in which we live. We are not the ones who choose our period of existence. Maybe I, being a peaceful person and hostile to any form of violence and aggression (despite some slanderers who want to present me as a "tyrant"), would have liked to live in a balanced time of peace, of stability, and construction to enable me to work. Perhaps I would have liked to manifest myself, without being under pressure and without all kinds of tension; however, we are living in a restless period full of convulsions and we have to adjust to it.

[Firan] How much does the picture that others have of you correspond to how you see yourself?

[Iliescu] This is difficult to judge. On the other hand, the picture others have of me are so varied; most of them are different than my own picture. They are either unfair or exaggerated. Some people underrate me, others overrate me; however, this does not disturb me. It is natural that our thoughts and images should be dominated by a great

deal of subjectivism. What is important for us is to let reason and realism prevail, and to be aware of our own value and limitations. Let us maintain our decency and...sense of humor—an important factor for our inner balance!

[Firan] Do you consider yourself free?

[Iliescu] Freedom is always relative. Maybe I am less free now than ever before. It is difficult to have any personal life; my whole existence revolves around my public duties; although in the [word missing] body I am trying to ensure my freedom of thought and action.

[Firan] Which was the most important day in your life?

[Iliescu] Perhaps 22 December, which marked a radical turning point in the life of all of us.

[Firan] What chances do you give to the spiritual rehabilitation of the Romanian people?

[Iliescu] Our people have certain chances for spiritual rehabilitation. The problem is how quickly this process will take place. I believe that this will take more time than economic and material rehabilitation. Probably two or three generations. Our generation is being contested now; in turn, those who contest us will themselves be contested... and probably only then will we be able to achieve the necessary balance (in conformity with Hegel's principle of denying a negation).

[Firan] How can you tolerate injustice?

[Iliescu] I would not say it was easy for me. I believe that there is no one who can easily tolerate acts of injustice, outbursts of hatred, venom, attempts at denigration, slanders, and machinations of lies, untruths, half truths, and distortions, such as are frequently found in a certain press viewing itself as the opposition, as well as in certain circles and public events in the street. Furthermore, often these things are taking place in the name of democracy and the right of criticism. Criticism, however, is one thing and denigration and slander is another thing. I am also a sensitive man. I am trying to master my conduct, actions, and feelings. I have noted that I am quite a balanced man with strong nerves.

[Firan) Do you feel lonely?

[Iliescu] Yes, sometimes. There is a loneliness that is comforting and another that hurts. Sometimes one may feel lonely even when there are a lot of people around.

[Firan] What is, in your opinion, the greatest gift of existence?

[Iliescu] The miracle of life is man, the being with the greatest power of adjustment. Furthermore, in my belief, the greatest gift of human existence is love.

[Firan] You were minister for youth affairs during the totalitarian regime, and you defended and struggled for the recognition of the social status of youth. In doing this, you assumed all the consequences of doing so, suffering sanctions and the scorn of the dictator couple. How do you explain today's relations with youth? Do you love young people?

[Iliescu] I still have great empathy for young people, for their life and needs. I have very good relations with some of the young people and I feel their support. There are also young people who do not understand the true significance of the events we are experiencing and who let themselves influenced by destabilizing elements. Maybe we, too, did not always know how to make ourselves understood. Life is full of conflicts; today's situation is far from straightforward. Young people, especially students, have always been more responsive to the pulse of life; they are a true barometer of society and directly reflect the tension and conflicts in society. It is important for those in power to know how to conduct a dialogue with them. I do not have a hostile attitude toward a certain reticence and attitudes of mistrust of young people and students. They must be handled with understanding. They have to be given incentives to get involved to a greater extent and directly in all areas of activity because they represent an important force for renewal—the future specialists—and potential professionals who will implement more effectively what we are planning today or what we aspire to.

[Firan] How have you been able to stand the psychological pressure of the past months?

[Iliescu] Sometimes I ask myself the same question, as do many of my friends and people close to me who want to know how I can put up with so much nervous pressure, so much hatred, slander, violence, and ill-faith. Life, however, has strengthened me. I had a difficult life as a child, with numerous difficult times. This gave me certain moral strength and prepared me for anything. I am trying to preserve my calm and balance.

[Firan] Is there any question you would like to ask or that was not asked?

[Iliescu] The question I would like to ask is: What do I expect from the circumstances in our country? I believe in the moral strength of the Romanian people. Throughout the period that elapsed since the December revolution, the people's support, hope, and confidence have been our main moral support; we should not disappoint them. I believe in the honest people and workers of this country and I hope that we will have the strength to overcome these difficult times. I hope that we will have the same ideals in life in order to launch Romania on the road to democracy and its fundamental renewal.

[Firan] Thank you!

Roman Discusses Economic Problems in TV Interview

AU2009190490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1803 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/9/1990—A faster pace of reform is required by many disfunctions in the economy, said Prime Minister Petre Roman in an interview with the Romanian Television. In his opinion, it is a good idea to speed up reforms.

In an interview broadcast Wednesday [19 September] he said the setting had been created for enterprises to operate as commercial societies, a setting that aims to lift the veil from economic activities. The prime minister explained that one could hardly say for sure if many enterprises are profit-making or not, because in making profits some of them take advantage of arbitrarily set prices which are not in line with world prices. He pleaded for competition, and this he said, can be stimulated by prices only, adding that, unlike what many can imagine, competition may also bring prices down, not only up.

The prime minister who assessed some industrial technologies to be fairly good by international standards, others not, said that therein cooperation with the international community had a role play not in politics, but in business and foreign investment. This should have proper legal coverage, both for the Romanian party and for foreign investors.

Government intervention is necessary for reasons of social security that the market economy laws do not automatically bring along, he said and showed that a faster pace of reform was expected to eliminate many of today's social contradictions.

Speaking about the wave of strikes in key areas of the Romanian economy, the prime minister said in his televised interview that they are rooted in an explainable sense of insecurity about the future of enterprises although an analysis of their situation could hardly justify those strikes.

The prime minister said there was some confusion in the negotiation of the commercial society status, which obviously brings advantages to enterprises. These negotiations should, in his opinion, extend to national economy mechanisms, at least at the present stage. This is a pressing question for the greater part of enterprises, and a major cause for a faster pace of reform.

In his "TV" interview Prime Minister Petre Roman said that reorganization on ministerial level had made a fine start as it had shown the ministerial structure heralding what we wanted the Romanian economy to be after the transition to a market economy. On the other hand, the premier said, there are permanent structures and a number of departments related only to the stage of turning enterprises into commercial companies. Inter alia, they must negotiate the commercial-company status of the enterprises in their sphere of activity. But, as for decision-making people, things are not so very good.

In context, Petre Roman stressed the negative effect the interest of a number of decision-makers take in maintaining old mentalities and especially, their former positions, which automatically triggers the same reaction at the roots. Therefore the fight is most delicate and difficult. Prime Minister Roman also underlined the nefarious effect of certain laws passed by the former regime, that cannot be totally abandoned now.

This is a fight we wage every day, a fight in which all bonafide people should join, he said inter alia.

In his televised interview, Prime Minister Roman highlighted all producing enterprises' duty to observe the terms of already concluded contracts, especially those on raw and subsidiary materials supply. Until the creation of commercial companies, the government will not allow economic links to deteriorate. For the period to come there is a resolution, signed on September 18, which specifically provides for the compulsory observance of the terms of those contracts, the prime minister said, showing that the resolution would in no way hinder market mechanisms.

In the last analysis, observance of contract terms is in the interest of each and everyone and of the economy as a whole.

The wages given to workers when they had not worked were not allotted from the state budget; they are credits, they represent a mortgage on the future activity of the respective enterprises. There are directors who lost their authority, Mr. Roman said, and who think that the state will write those credits off sooner or later. Well, this is not possible. Ours is an economy where the play is direct and accurate. You give, you receive. When you give nothing, you are in debt, you may even go bankrupt, the prime minister said highlighting the need to strengthen the boards of administration of enterprises.

As for work discipline, Mr. Roman also said, trade unions should intervene in the current stage as, ultimately, they are faced with a pressure directly linked to the weakening of work.

Recognizing that phenomena of distortion of the government decisions occurred, Premier Petre Roman said in his televised interview that the government should not permanently make compromises between the interests of some citizens and the economic interests. This would ultimately be detrimental to the country. A government should govern, conduct its policy that is, meaning the transformation into given economic situations of measures, of directions of economic policy deriving from what it thinks to be the direction of refloating the economy, of lending a positive dynamics on it. [sentence as received] The fact that certain interests of citizens, groups of citizens are harmed by certain decisions is something normal and it happens in all societies of the world. After the decision is made, after it is enforced, if

conflicts emerge, then, naturally, the necessity may arise of discussing possible adjustments. But all decisions made should be enforced and nobody has the right to oppose them if they are in line with the government's policy, directly authorized by the democratic institutions.

Approaching the problem of cadres, Prime Minister Roman stressed the necessity that competence be assessed and courage be shown in the promotion to the management of enterprises faced with difficulties of young cadres that should not be associated with the old methods, starting from the idea that nobody currently has experience in the transition from the Stalinist, communist economy to the market economy. I am for a massive promotion of youth to the most varied stages of decision-making, Mr. Roman stressed.

Answering a question about the measures to secure the necessary food and energy in winter time, Prime Minister Roman said in his televised interview that the government would present to the parliament at the beginning of October an account on winter supply.

The government has long made clear its stand favouring the existence of independent television stations financed by private capital, the Romanian Prime Minister said in his televised interview. The audiovisual media bill is ready to be advanced to the parliament. It stipulates the modality of founding free television stations, some where the government may express its standpoints, the way it happens in every civilized country, and other ones that should be founded with capital, foreign included, based on accords with big foreign companies. So, it is about commercial television stations. As to political television stations, they do not exist anywhere. This is the government's standpoint, the premier emphasized.

Assessing the recent meeting of reform ministers from East European countries, Mr. Petre Roman said that after his talks with the participants he had arrived at the conclusion that the general impression was at least favorable. The usefulness and necessity of the meeting is apparent if we think that we all encounter similar problems as concerns the reform and the transition to a market economy.

As problems are common, the conclusion was reached that steps towards reform could be taken through an open exchange of opinions.

The prime minister also said the proposal for the periodic organization of like meetings, to be venued by each of the countries in the former European East, was interesting.

Further on Constanta Port Workers' Strike

Strike Continues 20 Sep

AU2009201990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1919 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/9/1990—The strike started on September 17 by the Trade Unions of the Constanta Port continues for the fourth day now. However, the port handled in the last 24 hours over 30,000 tons, which is 50 per cent of the daily average of these last few months.

The Ministry of Public Works, Transport and Physical Planning shows in a note that the existence of divergences on the settlement of the issues discussed with the strikers in the September 10-16, 1990 week does not justify the strike.

Ion Plaviciosu, undersecretary, head of the Naval Transport Department, reported that all claims of the strikers were granted.

The management of the Naval Transport Department and the administrative boards of the shipping companies also stated they were ready for dialogue.

The union leaders in turn ask for dialogue with the responsible factors. The strike goes on.

Several Trade Unions End Strike

AU2109114590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0916 GMT 21 Sep 90

["A Breach in Port Strike"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 21/9/1990—Constanta County Alliance of 32 free trade unions and the Union of Merchant Fleet Officers announced in a communique they were withdrawing their support for Constanta port strike due to its serious implications. Looking forward to an early dialogue we call on the unions and the administration to be reasonable and cooperate in putting an immediate end to the strike, reads the communique.

The League of Sea Captains has, in its turn, proposed the Executive Council of the Sailors' Free Union a dialogue in order to contribute to finding the right solution to overcome the present situation. The dialogue was to be held today, September 21. The sailors union has so far given no reply.

Brucan Says Strikes Should Be 'Condemned'

AU2109114790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0919 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 21/9/1990—"I think that the strikes taking place in this country at present must be condemned by public opinion, by each one of us," states Mr. Silviu Brucan in an interview with daily "ROMANIA LIBERA."

Arguing his point of view Mr. Brucan reminds the unions' leaders—who invoke the example of the Western democracies—that the Western trade movement has "an iron rule: no pay raise is asked unless productivity, the enterprise's profits implicitly, have risen." With us the situation is vice versa: salaries have increased by 40 per cent and the value of production has decreased by 40 per cent.

In Mr. Brucan's opinion the six-month moratorium requested by the government must be observed otherwise the economy is seriously destabilized. Each strike, he insisted, is an act against the economic reform and democracy.

According to Mr. Brucan one of the causes of the present situation is the "signal sent by the authorities, that is 'we should no longer work our heads out as we did during the dictatorship' a signal stemming from a 'demagogic instinct' from the wish to be to the masses' liking."

Presenting the current situation of the Romanian economy, Mr. Brucan said: One thing is forgotten, that centralized planning does no longer exist and the market laws have not started to work yet. Contracts should be concluded among enterprises, with serious sanctions for those who do not honour them. I know I say unpopular things but someone must say them, Mr. Brucan said in conclusion.

Roman Receives Delegation of Journalists 20 Sep

AU2009210290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1830 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/9/1990—Prime Minister Petre Roman of Romania met on September 20 with a delegation of the leadership of the Journalists' Society of Romania—the Federation of All Press Unions, and of professional organizations of journalists of the written and audiovisual press: the Association of Journalists of Romania, the Union of Romanian Journalists, the Union of Hungarian-Language Journalists.

The delegation handed over to the prime minister a charter of the freedom of the press as well as a note of proposals of the Journalists Society of Romania, for the settlement of economic, social, ethical and cultural issues connected with the publishing activity.

The view was expressed during the discussion that until Romania's new constitution is drafted, the charter of the freedom of the press should be the normative act to regulate the activity in this domain, while some texts in it should be included in the country's future constitution.

The prime minister stressed that, as the parliament did not validate the charter, it could not have legal character but, as part of the right to legislative initiative, the government could advance to the parliament for approval a bill of the press. They also discussed aspects of the necessity to set up independent radio and television stations—the bill of the audio-visual media is to be submitted to the parliament soon—and the application of a rigorous system of taxation in the editorial activity, the securing of the necessary news paper.

At the end of the meeting, Prime Minister Petre Roman suggested the organization the soonest of a debate participated in by lawyers and journalists of the whole press in connection with the necessity of a special normative act to settle the press activity.

Baneasa Diplomatic Club Suspends Activity

AU2009202090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1917 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/9/1990—The Baneasa Country Club—the Diplomatic Sports Center in Bucharest, suspended its activity for 20 days as of September 20, reads a press release of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, quoting the foreign minister's order No. 519 of September 17.

This decision, the release shows, was made at the request of the Bucharest Diplomatic Corps, granted on September 6, 1990, during a meeting of the foreign minister with all deans of the regional groups of the diplomatic corps and with representatives of the Club's administrative board, such as the ambassadors of Italy, Colombia, Bangladesh, Zaire, Hungary, Spain and Tunisia.

The main reason for suspending the activity is that "the Bucharest Diplomatic Club is actually no longer a diplomatic club" the release shows, as the club has been attended, especially of late, by "lots of persons who have nothing to do with the diplomatic community in Bucharest" and the rules of the club were thus broken. The diplomatists applied to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for "support in redeeming the legal status of the club".

In the period for which the activity is suspended, the club's general meeting will be called, to make "every decision for the future functioning of the club", the release shows.

Iliescu To Address UN General Assembly

AU2009133490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Between 27 September and 3 October, Romania's President Ion Iliescu will be in New York to address the UN General Assembly session and to participate in a summit meeting organized by UNICEF, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, announced today in his weekly news conference.

Romania Returns to World Oil Community

AU2009161390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1343 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/9/1990—About 120 representatives of 54 famous oil companies from the U.S.A., England, the Netherlands, Italy, the Federal

Republic of Germany have announced their participation in a meeting due to start in Bucharest on Monday, September 24, when fifteen regions of the country the Black Sea included will be presented with the intention to begin exploitation and capitalization of new oil and gas deposits in cooperation with foreign companies.

This meeting represents a significant moment in returning Romania after fifty years of isolation to the world oil community. It may be considered as one of the most important events of this year, taking into consideration the fact that great oil companies all over the world gather in Bucharest to seek opportunities of future cooperation with Romania.

The discussions to be held with foreign companies on the occasion aim at concluding agreements for the discovery of new oil and gas deposits in areas where access has not been possible until now because of the lack of modern technologies and high-tech equipment.

Neagu Encourages More Cooperation With U.S.

AU2109134290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1148 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 21/9/1990—The firm and positive changes taking place in Romania nowadays call for a favourable response from the international community, the first tokens of which can be perceived, Mr. Romulus Neagu, secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry told an editor of "DIMINEATA" daily newspaper. Unfortunately, he said, the United States is still setting conditions on problems which are rather the concern of our country and government. These mainly refer to keep on the path we have taken firmly and irreversibly. Our progress may be slow, not because we want it so, but because of domestic and foreign conditions. Opening the U.S. to cooperation with Romania is a condition for speeding up our progress. The sooner the United States becomes aware of this necessity, the faster our pace forward, added Mr. Romulus Neagu.

Asked whether he considered it was the right time for a Romanian-American summit, the speaker said: A direct meeting of top executives, when this is possible, gives the most efficient opportunity for solving problems in the development of relations between countries in various fields. In this respect, the Romanian party has always been concerned about opening a broad dialogue with the United States at all levels. We have approached the United States on a number of concrete economic and other issues at the level of our embassies and foreign policy directors.

I personally had the great pleasure to discuss with my counterpart Deputy Secretary of State Eagleburger. Our foreign ministers will meet in New York soon. We are also preparing the visit of our Prime Minister Petre Roman to Washington for wide- ranging and concrete talks with the administration, as well as with American business and political circles. Steps have been taken for an Iliescu-Bush, summit Mr. Romulus Neagu said.

Deputies' Assembly Speaker Receives French Envoy

AU2009210190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1850 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/9/1990—Dan Martian, speaker of the Assembly of Deputies of the Romanian Parliament, received Renaud Vignal, France's ambassador to Romania, who paid a formal presentation call on September 20 in the afternoon.

Emphasizing the positive course of the relations between the two countries after the December 1989 revolution in Romania, both parties expressed the wish to work in the new conditions for the deepening of these relations in the political, economic, cultural and scientific fields. It was assessed that the parliaments and parliamentarians in the two countries could make an outstanding contribution to the development of the Romanian-French collaboration.

Ambassador Vignal conferred the same day with Corneliu Manescu, chairman of the Romanian Parliament's Foreign Policy Commission. Both parties expressed the wish to intensify the relations between the two countries.

Presidency Condemns 'Illegal' Kosovo Constitution

LD2009164690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1551 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Sep (TANJUG)—At its session today the SFRY Presidency, presided over by President Borisav Jovic, examined certain political-security and constitutional-legal aspects of the proclamation of the constitution of the so-called republic of Kosovo. The SFRY Presidency assessed that the illegal adoption of the constitution of the so-called republic of Kosovo is the result of many years of organized activity by Albanian nationalists and separatists aimed at destroying the territorial integrity of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the SFRY, and the final act in years of activity aimed at the separation of Kosovo from the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the SFRY.

It was also assessed that the illegal proclamation of the constitution of the so-called republic of Kosovo has further exacerbated the political-security situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo, contributed to the escalation of hostile activity by Albanian separatists, and posed a danger of unforeseeable consequences for the security of the country.

The said activities and the proclamation of the SAP of Kosovo as a republic are directly contrary to the Constitution of the SFRY, the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the existing constitution of the SAP of Kosovo. This illegal act is also contrary to the documents of the CSCE and other international acts in force.

In the opinion of the SFRY Presidency, the constitution of the so-called republic of Kosovo is unconstitutional and an antistate act which has no constitutional or legal effect, nor can it have. Considering that it represents a illegal attempt to change the borders betwen republics and the border of the SFRY, such behavior carries criminal responsibility according to the provisions of the criminal law of the SFRY. Similarly, it imposes the need to reexamine the decision of the Federal Secretariat for Justice and Administration on the registration of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [Demokratski Savez Kosova].

The SFRY Presidency stresses that the proclamation of the constitution of the so-called republic of Kosovo can have serious consequences for intranational relations not only in Kosovo, but throughout the country. The proclamation of the constitution may hamper the efforts of our country to realize economic and political reform, including the action being led by the SFRY Presidency in cooperation with the republican leaderships to find solutions for the legal and democratic reconstitution of Yugoslavia.

This calls for the determined prevention of unconstitutional and illegal actions which may occur following and in connection with the proclamation of the so-called republic of Kosov, in order to ensure the functioning of the legal constitutional order, and the peaceful and equal existence and work of all citizens living in Kosovo.

The SFRY Presidency assesses that the position of the Albanian nationality and all other nations and nationalities in Kosovo can only be successfully resolved by seeking ways to coexist on a democratic basis and with observance of the rule-of-law state within the framework of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the SFRY. It will therefore insist on activitie which lead to such solutions.

The statement from today's session also says that the SFRY Presidency also examined the current situation in the Gulf region in the light of the latest moves and other international issues of importance to our country.

Drnovsek Disagrees With Statement

AU2009191790 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1700 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] The official statement issued after today's session of the SFRY Presidency condemns the recent adoption of the new Kosovo constitution and the province being declared a republic. As we have learned from circles close to the SFRY Presidency, its member from Slovenia, Janez Drnovsek, did not agree with the statement.

Dr. Drnovsek warned the members of the Presidency that seen from the formal legal side, there is no doubt that the move of the delegates of the dissolved Kosovo Assembly was against the Federal Constitution. On the other hand, he also warned that the Serbian authorities' move to dissolve the provincial organs is also contrary to the Constitution. In Janez Drnovsek's opinion, Serbia's present policy is only leading to even greater differences, polarization, and conflicts in the province, which may end in a civil war.

The SFRY Presidency is therefore only a tacit observer of events and in its public statements, it sides with Serbian policy. Dr. Janez Drnovsek resolutely rejected that, although he in fact does not support all the moves of Kosovo alternative movements either.

Riza Sapundziu, member of the SFRY Presidency from Kosovo, was of a similar opinion, but otherwise Drnovsek remained alone in his opinion.

Today's session of the collective state leadership was not attended by a Croatian representative. Namely, the president of that republic's Presidency is in the United States and even at the preceding session, the newly elected Presidency member Stipe Mesic was not allowed to attend as an observer. His election in the Croatian Assembly must be confirmed by proclamation in the SFRY Assembly before his term of office becomes effective. Both SFRY Assembly chambers will meet for a joint session on 10 October at which the delegates will be addressed by Presidency President Borisav Jovic. The central topic of that session will be the future setup of Yugoslavia and the examination of possible roads toward a solution which everybody could agree upon.

Criminal Proceedings Against Kosovo Deputies

AU2009165390 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] The Commission for Mandates and Immunity of the Assembly of Serbia has approved criminal proceedings against three ethnic Albanian delegates to the dissolved Kosovo Assembly for counterrevolutionary endangerment of the social system and association for the purpose of hostile activities. The proceedings will be conducted at the Valjevo District Court.

Consent has also been given to conduct criminal proceedings against three more delegates of the dissolved assembly at the Pristina District Court.

Charged With Counterrevolutionary Act

LD2009152190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1444 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Sep (TANJUG)—The credentials-immunity commission of the Assembly of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia today approved that criminal proceedings be instituted against six ethnic-Albanian delegates of the dissolved Assembly of the Province of Kosovo for counter-revolutionary activities against the social order and association for the purpose of pursuing hostile activities.

Three of the delegates, two of whom are not in the country at the moment, participated in the drawing up of the "constitutional declaration" proclaiming Kosovo a separate federal unit within Yugostavia, which was adopted in the provincial capital of Pristina in early July. The adoption of the "declaration" was actually an attempt at having the Autonomous Province of Kosovo break away from the Republic of Serbia, of which it is a part, and, thereby, at undermining Serbia's borders.

Criminal charges against the three other delegates of the dissolved assembly of Kosovo will be raised because they participated in the work of the illegal session of the dissolved assembly in Kacanik on September 7, at which the "constitution of the Kosovo Republic" was adopted. The illegal session was attended only by ethnic-Albanian delegates.

The credentials-immunity commission of the Assembly of Serbia has taken the view that assembly delegates who violate state sovereignty cannot enjoy immunity.

Kosovo Democratic Alliance Supports Constitution

AU2109090290 Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 16 Sep 90 pp 1, 4-5

[Blerim Reka report: "The Circle of Tragedy Widens"]

[Excerpts] Pristina, 15 Sep— This report from distraught and overcast Kosovo begins like the previous one, with tragic news. The fact that life is cheap in Kosovo and that a citizen can count on no safety for the lives of himself and his family is shown by the tragic epilogue of the most recent punitive expedition of the Serbian police near Klina. Even before the wounds of the human tragedies at Shipashnice, Ternave, and most recently Pollate had closed, in which two Albanian citizens were killed and more were wounded, two more Albanian deaths at the hands of Serbian state terror were recorded in the tragic history of Kosovo on the night of 13-14 September. With the murder of Besim (Hashim) Latifi (22) and Skender (Hamit) Monoli (33) from the village of Pollate near Podujevo, the Serbian police, as Belgrade Television's main news broadcast put it, "liquidated two armed terrorists!" [passage omitted]

Once again at the regular news conference of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance [DSK], Dr. Ibrahim Rugova expressed deepest condolences to the families of those killed in this incident and in the Pollate case, calling these tragic events punitive expeditions by the Serbian police against innocent Albanian citizens and considering them two in a series of many provocations against the Albanian people by the Serbian police. Once again, Rugova repeated the DSK's call that the Albanian people should not respond to the most recent provocations of the Serbian police, whose ultimate aim is only to cause large-scale conflicts with the Albanians. He also asked democratic public opinion at home and abroad to finally raise its voice in condemnation of what has now long been happening in Kosovo. [passage omitted]

I am not in the habit of issuing denials, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova later said, because I am always conscious of what I say. However, I must deal with a BORBA article (written by its Pristina correspondent) in connection with what I allegedly said in an interview for OSLOBODJENJE, that "I am in favor of a confederation with Albania." This is not in the least true, and was intentionally inserted into the policy of disinformation and rumormongering being waged at the precise moment when the DSK is registering. It is no accident that Svetozar Zecer, deputy secretary to the Federal Secretariat for Justice and Administration, immediately appeared after this BORBA article and threatened the DSK that if it urged the destruction of Yugoslavia it would be banned as a political party. We regret that Milos Antic should deal with rumors in a reputable newspaper such as BORBA, Rugova said, because he took a single sentence from my interview and supposed that I am asking for a confederation with Albania. What I in fact said was that I am in favor of a federation or confederation with the Albanians in Yugoslavia, because a tendency exists to exclude us Albanians from this federation or confederation and not to hear our voice at all. This is nothing new. However, I was pleased by Vlado Kambovski's statement, because he talked about my interview using arguments instead of rumors. This shows that he has not fallen under the influence of BORBA as did Borisav Jovic in his Belgrade Television interview a few days ago. There is a term in journalism, "journalist's idiocy," and Antic's article in BORBA fully deserves that name. All this happened after the news that we had registered as a political party, and they threaten

us because they are annoyed at our registration at a federal level. They call us a separatist movement, but we are a political party, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said. We are in favor of democracy and it is precisely for this reason that we have gained sympathy as a political party in Yugoslavia and the world. The Albanian people have gained the same sympathy and these efforts to demolish the authority we now enjoy everywhere are futile.

Commenting on the news of the promulgation of the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo and other documents by the delegates of the Kosovo Assembly, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said that we have always considered and still consider that the Serbian Assembly dissolved the Kosovo Assembly in an unconstitutional way. We support this Constitution and the other documents that were approved and consider that the Albanians too have the right to speak out and state their views. This has been done in a legal way and there is nothing wrong in approving the Constitution. We will now wait to see what happens, Rugova said. The Constitution was not approved by force, and we therefore support such a step on the part of the Kosovo Assembly delegates as a permissible one.

Meanwhile, Dr. Fehmi Agani, commenting on certain remarks by the Serbian Executive Council denying the constitutional authority of the new Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, said that this institution which suspended the Kosovo Assembly does not have the political credibility to deny the constitutional value of the new Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, nor to label it as secessionism. From the standpoint of international law, the charge does not hold water, because the Helsinki documents consider Yugoslavia as a state and an international entity and make no mention of its internal borders, which are, as is well known, administrative borders. If people are starting to speak out about the reconstruction of Yugoslavia, Kosovo and the Albanians, who are not a national minority but a people, will also speak out, Dr. Fehmi Agani said in conclusion.

"Munja" [Serbo-Croatian for "lightning"]—Code for the Police Action in Pollate

Zenun Celaj informed journalists about organizational changes in the Pristina Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms. The lawyer Bajram Kelmendi has been elected chairman in place of the academician Idriz Ajeti; Dr. Zekeria Cana, up till now secretary, has become deputy chairman, while Zenun Celaj has been elected the Council's secretary. Zenun Celaj also said that there have been four casualties in the last 24 hours, which official organs consider took place "in armed clashes between separatists and the police." He offered journalists extensive proof from the tragic incident in Pollate (photographs, ammunition cartridges) as well as the secret plan for what was called the "Munja" operation on which the action in this village was based. We also have reports about the village of Zajm near Kline from the testimony of witnesses who happened to be there and who had seen the two victims, on whose chests the police had laid weapons for photographic purposes! At this news conference, Zenun Celaj also thanked the journalist from Radio Velika Gorica, who in the course of a question mentioned the case of the injury of a militiaman, which was not caused by firearms, but by a police vehicle running into a ditch!

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item.]

Support

It has been reported that the Albanian delegates of the Communal Assemblies of Pristina and Titova Mitrovica yesterday supported the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo.

The step of the delegates of the Kosovo Provincial Assembly has also been supported by the DSK, the Kosovo Peasants Party, and the Kosovo Social Democratic Party.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item.]

The Police "Confiscate" FLAKA

It has been reported that the police in Kosovska Kamenica yesterday "confiscated" 41 copies of FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT. The police also looked for copies of FJALA among the town's kiosks, but finding none, they took the remaining copies of FLAKA.

Retired General Declines Kosovo 'Republic' Post

LD2009164390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1436 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Pristina, 20 Sep (TANJUG)—Retired Lieutenant-Colonel-General Fadilj Curanoli today has resolutely distanced himself from and condemned manipulations of his name and person by Albanian and other nationalist and separatist forces in connection with his alleged involvement in the affairs of the so-called "republic of Kosovo."

Lt.-Col.-Gen. Curanoli asserted in a statement to TANJUG: "I regard such use of my name and the offer of the post of commander of the Armed Forces in some 'republic of Kosovo' as pure speculation. I want to inform the public that I resolutely distance myself from everyone who tries in this way to use my name or discredit me as a person.

"I dedicated my entire life," Curanoli added, "to the LCY [League of Communist of Yugoslavia], the struggle for equality, brotherhood, and unity of all nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia, preservation of the achievements of the revolution and the territorial intergrity of the SFRY. Today too, when various party and nationalistic contests are jeopardizing the territorial integrity of the SFRY, I resolutely warn parties, nationalist and separatist forces in Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia that no one will draw me into underhanded games aimed at

breaking up Yugoslavia. If need arises, I can only and solely offer my services to the Yugoslav People's Army."

The reason for retired Lt.-Col.-Gen. Fadilj Curanoli's denial is a recently published article in "EKSPRES POLITIKA" and a commentary by Radio Pristina claiming that "the framer of the constitution" of the so-called "republic of Kosovo" set aside the post of commander of armed forces in the case of war to Lt.-Col.-Gen. Curanoli.

"I do not know what the real motives are for publishing something which is just a rumor or is heard from allegedly 'reliable sources'. I hold that something like this is inadmissable, immoral, and unprofessional," Lt.-Col.-Gen. Fadilj Curanoli said.

Police 'Assault' on Albanian Village Reported

LD2009192990 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] In the early hours of this morning, strong police forces, more than 40 tanks and several police armored vehicles moving into Gornja Sipasnica near Kosovska Kamenica, which is inhabited by Albanians. After surrounding the village, eyewitnesses report that an assault on the population began. A large quantity of tear gas was thrown, local people were harrassed, houses were searched, and 13 people were detained.

Serbs United Behind Gracanica Proclamation

AU2009200390 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] At the Gracanica Monastery today, as we have reported, representatives of the Orthodox Church and of almost all the Serbian parties adopted the Gracanica Proclamation, which calls all Serbs to unite. Milivoj Mihajlovic reports:

[Mihajlovic] Spiritual and cultural values, unity, and vital interests transcend all the differences and individual views, the Gracanica Proclamation stresses. (?For the sake of) mutual unity and forgiveness, the document says, the reconciliation of the graves is also necessary, because there can be no reconciliation between the living without a reconciliation between the dead.

What is necessary is to establish harmony between the Serbian land and the church, because this is a historically proven guarantee for prosperity. The signatories of the proclamation, representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Socialist Party of Serbia, the Serbian National Renewal, the Saint Sava Party, the Serbian Democratic Party of Knin, the People's Party of Montenegro, and several associations, including the Peony Association of Kosovo Polje, Metohija of Bar, Ras of Novi Pazar, and several associations of Kosovo, advocate respect for human rights, and geographical, spiritual, and national kinship of the Serbs.

The proclamation spells out two alternatives for the position of Serbia and the Serbian people. The first presupposes Yugoslavia based on the cultural, historical, and organic unification of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and the second a culturally and historically complementary [komplementarna] Serbia in which Serbs of the Orthodox, Muslim, and Catholic faith live.

The signatories of the proclamation struggle against party uniformity and advocate a gentlemanly contest and equal dialogue of the present and future parties, whose main aim is Serbian prosperity. It is expected of the Serbian Church that with the reconciliation in the diaspora, it will present an example of unity and of overcoming the divisions in the Serbian people.

The decision has been adopted that a Serbian national program should be drafted urgently. The task has been entrusted to experts from all the Serbian lands, as it is said. The coordinators of this program will be the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Serbian Academy of Sciences, and representatives of all the parties.

About 1,000 Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo gathered at the Gracanica Monastery after the meeting. Addressing those gathered, the representatives of the parties and the Church pointed out that this gathering represented a historic accord in the process of unifying, as it was said, the fragmented Serbian people.

Durakovic on Communist Chances in Bosnian Voting

AU2009154290 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 15 Sep 90 p 9

[Interview with Dr. Nijaz Durakovic, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina Socialist Democratic Party, by D. Djuretek; place and date not given: "There Will Be No Cheating"; first paragraph is VECERNJI LIST introduction]

[Excerpts] Dr. Nijaz Durakovic, president of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina-Socialist Democratic Party, certainly has the most thankless role: To try to ensure that the ruling Bosnia-Hercegovina communists win the upcoming elections in this republic and come to power. This is because, as he says, the communists have not been in power in Bosnia-Hercegovina for a long time, even though this is what they have been reproached for by virtually every party. Almost none of the leaders of the other parties, which are still in opposition, mince their words or hold back insults, leveling sharp criticism at communists at their preelection meetings. The elections are scheduled for November and we will then see whether the League of Communists in Bosnia-Hercegovina will succeed in what the communists in Croatia and Slovenia did not mange to do. However, it seems that all predictions in Bosnia-Hercegovina are still premature because this republic really is peculiar in many respects.

[Djuretek] The preelection campaign in Bosnia-Hercegovina is well and truly already on its way. How do you assess its progress so far and the position of your party?

[Durakovic] The public probably has the wrong impression that the communists are completely on the defensive, almost in a mouse hole, that they are flying a white flag, that they have surrendered early, and that they are leaderless and disorganized. We have been receiving this criticism primarily from our members, but also from well-intentioned and worried people who are wondering why we are not more on the offensive, why we keep quiet, and why we do not return the blows.

I will reveal one of our electoral secrets. We deliberately gave August to the other parties. At their founding assemblies, they had to do the work that we did a long time ago. Apart from that, perhaps this is not even a good thing to reveal, we consider that it is still too early to enter a real electoral campaign and use up all our trump cards. We are doing all this deliberately. We are not at all dead, as the varied opposition would like us to be. I hope that we will give them a good shake up in the period to come. [passage omitted]

[Djuretek] Many people, particularly the leaders of other parties, have been criticizing you vehemently.

[Durakovic] If you analyze even a little more carefully the fundamental political orientations of all parties which are on the political stage in Bosnia-Hercegovina, you will see that they really do have one real common denominator—a virulent, undisciplined, and often brutal anticommunism. That is often what unites them. [passage omitted]

[Djuretek] Is there the fear here that the worst may happen because of the many pressures that divide Bosnia?

[Durakovic] This fear has been very intense in Bosnia recently, but I do not believe that it exists to any lesser degree in Croatia or anywhere else. I have always said: If this Bosnian stew and Bosnian mash is boiled up, the whole of Yugoslavia will taste it. Any attempt to separate Bosnia-Hercegovina would be cataclysmic. It is a crazy, a really crazy, concept that someone could split Bosnia-Hercegovina. This is the case if these concepts are Draskovic's, Seselj's, or even some old concepts of the hawks of the Croatian Democratic Community.

But how can anything in Bosnia be divided. There is almost no town or factory or street or building which is not mixed and even graveyards have recently become mixed.

Bosnia-Hercegovina cannot be split up according to supposedly historic rights as some think. However, this judgment is wrong.

Bosnian Mash Is Being Cooked

[Djuretek] Did you in this sense recently speak in Srebrenik on the danger of national parties?

[Durakovic] I did not speak about the danger of national parties, on the contrary. I said that I did not consider national parties to be my enemies. However, the activities of some leaders of these parties are leading to cataclysm. In principle, all the leaderships of the national parties in Bosnia-Hercegovina are in favor of the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the inviolability of its borders, equality, and cohabitation, but in practical life, it is not difficult to refute them. [passage omitted]

[Djuretek] At one of its meetings, some of the leaders of the Party of Democratic Action recently called on all Muslims in any kind of leading position, and who have not offended their people, to join this party.

[Durakovic] I think that this is humiliating and limits the possibilities at the elections, but perhaps people do not realize this. What does this mean? Those who do not vote for us, are not good Muslims, and one can go even further, they are not good Serbs or good Croats. This is illogical, beyond reason! It is not possible for one people to be led like sheep by a shepherd who has promised them national happiness.

The State Is in Collapse

[Djuretek] Do you think the suspicion is justified that the creation of a hotbed of troubles like the one in Foca brings the elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina into question?

[Durakovic] It is difficult to give a general judgment, but something of this definitely exists. The Foca affair is not only the product of our contradictions but it was also partly directed and synchronized from outside. I do not want to make any uncritical assessments of who is doing this and in what way, but there is a lot of evidence to prove this. Someone obviously wants a new Knin. In the final analysis, Vuk Draskovic does not hide this when he goes on "his excursions." Even the leaders of these strike committees go on trips of their own. [passage omitted]

[Djuretek] You mentioned events in Knin. Can you be more specific? It is well known that Croatia clearly accused Belgrade of being behind the events there.

[Durakovic] It is not up to me to judge this but there are certainly all sorts of things connected with this. Anyway, much of what happens in our country happens only according to the dictate of the so-called center. Many moves certainly were directed from Belgrade and continue to be so. This is not at all difficult to prove, just as many moves in Bosnia are directed by Zagreb. An example of this is the replacement of Davor Perinovic.

Legal Elections, if They Take Place!

[Djuretek] Do you think that the elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina will be legal?

[Durakovic] If elections take place, and I hope that they will, they will be legal despite all our troubles. The balance of political force is such and this political competition is so condensed and intertwined that cheating is not possible. Everyone controls everyone else. There should be no monopolization despite the lack of an electoral law.

[Djuretek] However, this time the criticisms of the electoral system are basic. Specifically, the ratio in the future republican Presidency of 3-2-1-1 (three Muslims, two Serbs, one Croat, and one "other") is unacceptable for Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina because it transfers them from a position of a constituent people to that of a national minority.

[Durakovic] I totally agree with that. I am a member of the constitutional commission and on two official occasions I have stated zealously and persistently that this is not good. Our proposal is for this Presidency to be made up of five members. The order is not important: Serb, Croat, Muslim, Yugoslav, and a fifth member who could be the one with the most votes. This would put the three main people into a parity position. Unfortunately, our proposal was not passed. We were simply outvoted. It is shameful that the 3-2-1-1 ratio is being applied. The Croats and their representatives are justifiably rebelling. According to what I have heard, the Presidency of the Bosnia-Hercegovina has taken action to change this principle actually as a response to our protest. [passage omitted]

[Djuretek] Do you believe that the communists in Bosnia- Hercegovina could win the elections after the communist regions have fallen in Eastern Europe and after the failure of the communists at elections in Slovenia and Croatia?

[Durakovic] It is a thankless task to talk about our chances. I hope that the percentage of votes that we win, will be greater than our political opponents have predicted. Not because I am convinced of this, but I am judging the mood that I see as I go to some regions of Bosnia-Hercegovina. No one can predict what will happen in the next two months. The times are such that we do not know whether this country of ours will be the same tomorrow and whether it will survive, and on which principles. I am nevertheless an optimist, at least in the sense that we will be such a fierce opposition that we will make the life of whoever is in power miserable.

Macedonian Presidency on Intranational Discord

LD2009022690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2048 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Excerpts] Skopje, 19 Sep (TANJUG)—Instead of firmly heading toward economic and political reform, more and more activities in Macedonia are hampering the course of reform. As stated this evening after a session of the Macedonian Presidency, this is being unfavorably reflected in the security situation and the stability of constitutional order in the republic.

The Presidency of the republic considers that individuals and groups are attempting to abuse the processes of democratization in the republic and the country, and are using them for their own ends, which are most often nationalistic. Advocacy of violence, and the call for civil disobedience, the Macedonian Presidency considers, are giving rise to justified fear and insecurity among citizens and are serving to bring about further divisions and intranational discord. The Presidency of the republic assessed as worrying the increase in Albanian nationalism and separatism, particularly through the political platforms of individual parties, and the attempt to destroy the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. Considering the greatly worsened state of intranational relations in the western part of Macedonia, the presidency notes the need for a long-term strategy and policy of eradicating Albanian, Macedonian, and other nationalisms in order to restore to this region confidence in a common life.

The Macedonian Presidency strongly condemned the illegal proclamation of Kosovo as a republic, and considers that this act threatens the integrity and sovereignty of Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

The Macedonian Presidency strongly condemned the brutal measures of the Bulgarian authorities against members of the Ilinden United Macedonian Organization and the flagrant violation of their rights as citizens of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the prevention of the activity of this organization.

Condemning the action of the Bulgarian authorities which prevented numerous Macedonians in this neighboring country from taking part in the traditional border meeting held on 16 September in Berovo, the Macedonian Presidency called for the strict implementation and observance of the interstate agreement. It was reported that it is also calling for the competent republican and federal organs to engage themselves against the restrictive activity of the Bulgarian regime.

Mesic on Possible Solutions to Yugoslav Crisis

LD2009110590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0941 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Sep (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav crisis can be overcome only through dialogue, without pressure and ultimatums. The present model of Yugoslav Federation has not been a success. Therefore, representatives all the (six Yugoslav) republics must sit down at a conference table and discuss a future model of the country, Stipe Mesic told Radio Belgrade today. Mesic has been elected member of the Yugoslav Federal Presidency, but has not yet assumed office.

Mesic said he did not know what a referendum on a new Yugoslav system, proposed recently by Yugoslav President Borisav Jovic, would accomplish.

Mesic demanded, instead, that each republic, as a political entity, put forth its model of life together in Yugoslavia.

When his election to the top state leadership is endorsed by the Yugoslav parliament, Mesic will be vice-president of this body and, as of May 1991, its president, in keeping with the rote system in play in Yugoslavia.

Asked what he would then propose be done in order to solve the crisis in the province of Kosovo, Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, Mesic said he believed the only way out was for the Serbs and ethnic Albanians to agree to live together. The system must be made to function, and political problems must be dealt with by political means, Mesic said in his interview to Radio Belgrade.

Pregl Outlines Reform Alliance's Basic Features

AU2009163590 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Sep 90 p 3

[E. Vecovska report: "In Serbia 'At the Eleventh Hour'"]

[Excerpts] On the occasion of today's promotion of the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia [SRSJ] scheduled to take place in the Youth Hall at 2100, the news conference which was called yesterday by the Belgrade Initiative Committee organizing this promotion, caused great interest among Yugoslav and foreign journalists. Zivko Pregl, member of the Main Initiative Committee, Tomislav Ognjanovic, president of the Belgrade Initiative Committee, and Professor Radosin Rajevic, member of the Republican Initiative Committee for Serbia, spoke on this occasion. [passage omitted]

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Zivko Pregl: How To Distinguish the Alliance

"Since Ante Markovic launched the initiative on Mount Kozara for the SRSJ to be set up, it has been spreading quickly. We have now come to the end of the work on formulating the SRSJ program. A special working group has concluded this task. We have also finished formulating the alliance's statute. At this moment it can be said: The situation in Yugoslavia gives the impression that the key thing is to compete over who can write the nicest program, and all programs are packed full of democracy, the market economy, and some of these new general values. The question now really arises of how one distinguishes between the SRSJ and the other parties. I would now like to give you two [number as published] signs, two codes so that you can recognize the SRSJ. The first sign relates to the international position of the SRSJ. It is our ambition to join the ranks of the social democratic parties in the world. These will be our channels for international communication and the place where we will look for our partners, that is to say, in the Socialist International. The second way to recognize the alliance concerns the domestic political field. The SRSJ will unite people who know what our aims are. Our alliance has a program which shows that it knows what Yugoslavia is like, as well as all its current problems, and it knows how to take it where we want it to be—we know how to implement economic and political reform in the country. We have already proven this in some of our actions, while some people only write about their aims and what they want, and they do not know the way to get out of the present situation and into the desired position. Our third peculiarity is that we are insisting that the SRSJ is joined by people who, because of their moral integrity, are able at any time to look anyone in the eye. We are therefore insisting on moral values and on the fact that from the moral point of view none of us who join the SRSJ can be criticized for anything. The fourth thing that is important to distinguish us is that we are building our program, our ambition, and success not on fear or enemies—but we are much closer to our friends and allies than to our enemies. We are therefore convinced that we can also be successful under conditions of tolerance, mutual respect, and democratic dialogue." [signed] Zivko Pregl

LC Bodies in Federal Agencies To End Activity

LD2109100190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0827 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—All basic League of Communist [LC] organizations in the federal bodies and organizations will end their activity there by 5 November of this year. This is stressed in a decision made by the Presidium of the Committee of the Basic LC Organizations in the Federal Bodies and Organizations, which is being sent to the secretaries of all basic LC organizations and the chairmen of the conferences of the basic LC organizations in the federal bodies.

This decision, referring to the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs and the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs among others, but not to the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] (the political organization in the Army will be regulated by a special law), is based on a regulation within the changed law on the foundations of the state administration, the Federal Executive Committee, and the federal administrative bodies. This regulation, adopted this summer, states that the existing political organizations in the federal administrative bodies and organizations will end their activity in three months time from the day when the law comes into force.

Iran's Embassy Denies Role in Bosnia Muslim Party

LD2009105790 Tehran IRNA in English 1005 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Sep (IRNA)—No officials of the Iranian Embassy in Belgrade had contacts with Radio Sarajevo, nor have they purchased a taped radio-interview from the station, a source close to the Iranian Embassy told IRNA Thursday [20 September]. The denial relates to a report by the Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI claiming the alledged buying of

the tape by "a representative of the Iranian Embassy" through a telephone call. At the time of the alledged call, both president and the vice president of the Muslim Party for Democratic Action (PDA), from the central Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina were guests at Radio Sarajevo. They commented on a recent dramatic rift in the party's leadership.

The now suspended Vice-President Adil Zulfikarpasic accused a number of party leaders of supporting "a rightwing faction" wishing to introduce the shari'ah law. On the other hand, the party's chairman Alija Izetbegovic told the press Wednesday that the accusation was completely ungrounded. Zulfikarpasic's statement resulted from "sick ambition and a power struggle", Izetbegovic told the press Wednesday, adding that it has also caused "enormous damage" to the party.

PDA represents people of Muslim background and before the split in the leadership was expected to do well in the first multi-party elections since World War II in the central Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina on November 18.

EC Willing To Help Further Reform Progress

LD2009162490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1354 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Zagreb, 20 Sep (TANJUG)—The European Community is willing to help Yugoslavia on condition that it does not abandon or slow down the implementation of Prime Minister Ante Markovic's program of reforms, the head of the E.C. Commission delegation, Ambassador Marc Janssens, said here today.

Janssens took part in the work of a round-table meeting on cooperation between Yugoslavia and the European Twelve which was held at the international autumn grand fair in Zagreb, Republic of Croatia.

Janssens also said that the possibilities for establishing qualitatively higher forms of cooperation between Yugoslavia and the E.C. would depend on the rate of the implementation of a multi-party parliamentary democracy in Yugoslavia.

Janssens said that Yugoslavia's request for an increase in financial cooperation would be decided by the end of October. He noted that the volume and modalities of aid would be linked to the question of transit traffic through Yugoslavia.

Janssens said that a decision on 30 million ECU'S [European currency units] in aid to Yugoslavia would be reached by the end of the year, and that the amount would be doubled next time depending on whether the experience is favourable. The funds will be primarily used for re-structuring of Yugoslav banks and firms.

Janssens favourably assessed the 10-year cooperation between Yugoslavia and the E.C., noting that trade doubled during that time, and Yugoslavia's two billion dollar deficit was reduced to a minimum.

In the first half of this year, Yugoslav exports to E.C. countries increased by 30 percent, and trade with E.C. countries accounts for more than 40 percent of Yugoslavia's overall trade with the world.

Pointing out that relations with the E.C. were high on Yugoslavia's list of priorities, Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat representative Goran Feich said that negotiations on Yugoslavia's becoming an associated member of the E.C. would begin next year.